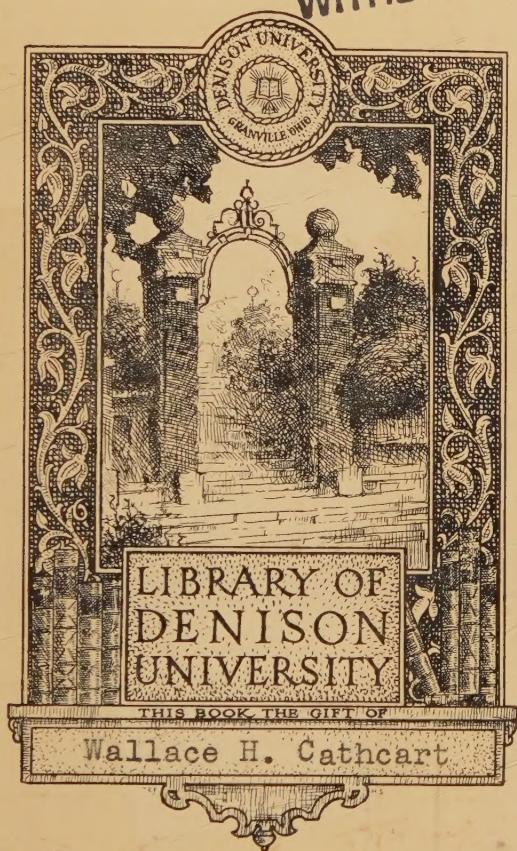


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THE HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

TOGETHER WITH
AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND,

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME CAREFULLY PRINTED FROM THE
ORIGINAL MS. PRESERVED IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED
THE NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

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A TRUE
HISTORICAL NARRATION
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN ENGLAND

BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1641, WITH THE PRECEDENT PASSAGES
AND ACTIONS THAT CONTRIBUTED THEREUNTO.

BOOK XV.

¹THE king remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigour of his fortune with great temper and magnanimity, whilst all the princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves who should most eminently forget and neglect him, and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those nations who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's [father's] peaceable and mild government; so that he might have enjoyed some of that comfort and pleasure which Velleius Paterculus says that Marius and Carthage had when his banishment reduced him to end his life in the ruins of that city, as he did; *Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio*; whilst he refreshed himself with the memory of his greatness when he overthrew that great and famous city; and she again, delighted to

behold her destroyer expelled from his country, which he had served so eminently, and forced, forsaken of all men, to end his life and to be buried in her ashes. If the king's nature could have been delighted with such reflections, he might have had argument abundant in seeing Scotland, which first threw off wantonly its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced and governed by a rod of iron, vanquished and subdued by those to whom they had taught the science of rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences and vows and horrible perjuries, to subdue and destroy their own natural prince, and dissolve the government they had been subject to since they were a people; in seeing the pride and insolence of that nation, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their kings, suppressed, contemned, and subdued by those who had been instructed by them how to use their arms, and exposed to slavery under the discipline and castigation of men who were not born gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and professions of the common people. These men governed in their houses, and prescribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, and which they were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and estates; whilst their adored idol, presbytery, which had pulled off the crown from the head of the king, was trod under foot, laughed at, and contemned; and their preachers, who threatened their princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal; and all this subjection supported at their own charge, and their fierce governors paid by them out of their own estates.

- 2 He [then] beheld Ireland, that began its rebellion with inhuman massacres, and butcheries of their peaceable and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland

was suppressed, or so compounded that the blessing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this sottish people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though Scotland blew the first trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterwards befell the king and his dominions had been prevented. These unhappy people, when they saw that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of treachery and perjury that can make any foul action the most odious. And after they had again, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the king, and put themselves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themselves to the sovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had seen their natural king murdered by his [other] rebels for want of that assistance which they might have given him, and chose rather to depend on the clemency of the usurper, and so drove from them the governor and government of their king: [I say,] his majesty saw now these miserable people grovelling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the highest desolation, and even to the point of extirpation; the blood they had wantonly and savagely spilt in the beginning of the rebellion, they now saw plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilst those persons who first contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the king, and they who caused every peace to be broken which had been made with his majesty, with all the possible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous offices

against the royal power, to reconcile themselves to their new masters, were every day taken and infamously put to death by their authority who usurped the government; who sold, as hath been said before, above one hundred thousand of them to the service of foreign princes, under whom they perished for want of bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in history of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that hath ever been reduced to a more complete misery and contempt than the Irish were in the view of his majesty at this time. And it was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

- 3 [Lastly,] England, that seemed to glory in the conquest of those two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect, too, full of variety. Though the king's heart was even broken with the daily information he received of the ruin and destruction that his faithful and loyal party underwent, and the butchery that was frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the usurper exercised over the whole nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first authors of the public calamity to be now so much sharers in it, that they were no more masters of their estates than they were whom they had first caused to be spoiled, and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those scaffolds which they had caused to be erected for others; that [little or] no part of the new government was in any of their hands which had pulled down the old; and that after monarchy had been made so odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation was become at the disposal of one man; and that those lords, without whose monstrous assistance the sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the king, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the people: in a word,

that Cromwell was not so jealous of any as of those who had raised him; and contrived and proposed nothing more to himself than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the royal authority, and to drive the royal family and all that adhered to it into banishment.

4 This prospect the king had of the three kingdoms which had revolted from him during his residence at Cologne; [but] with those manifestations of God's vengeance upon those ingrateful nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompense, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

5 Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of his own people, which vexed him exceedingly, more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his stubborn parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea; the one under Pen, consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there [was] likewise embarked a land army consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of general Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire, who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to serve in this expedition.

6 Both these superior officers were well affected to the king's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did by several ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in,) send to the king, that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would,

engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time erect the king's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the king could not presume upon any port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor [could he] make out of the distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. And so he wished them to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed, (from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident Cromwell meant to make some enemy, which probably might give his majesty some friend,) and to reserve their affections for his majesty till a more proper season to discover them.

7 The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom [Cromwell] had all confidence. Neither fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till [each of them] came to such a point, where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that for many months after they were both at sea, nobody knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the cardinal was maintained with many civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, to give his friendship to that crown that should best deserve it: and without doubt both crowns were amused with his preparation, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

8 Spain, that had hitherto kept don Alonzo de Cardinas

[in England,] after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late king, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the marquis of Leyda with a splendid train, as extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the catholic king. The marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that king to the same apprehension and expectation.

- 9 The two fleets set out from the coast of England about the same time; that under Blake made its course directly to the Mediterranean; being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Algiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas. When he should have performed that service, he was to open another commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Pen was bound directly to the Barbadoes; where they were to open their commissions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were oppressed with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home.

So that after a shorter stay at the Barbadoes than they had reason to expect, had they not found two frigates, (which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters,)[and] making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the act of navigation,) about the end of March they set sail, with an addition of four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where after a short stay they received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbadoes joined to him; and having a prosperous wind, they came about the middle of April within view of Santo Domingo, which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

- 10 Their orders from Cromwell were very particular and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they did call a council of war; and it was there resolved that general Venables should land in another place, (which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was,) and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed at a less distance from the town, in a bay, that should join with them; and join they did. But [by] the march which Venables had made, and in which he spent two days and a half in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that country's sun, in which they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very

ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse, which being armed with long lances, and other arms which they had not been accustomed to; [so,] tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them; and were in that disorder pursued till they came to their main body; upon sight whereof the Spaniards retired without any loss, and having left the captain of the forlorn hope, and above fifty of his company, dead upon the place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay, and the fresh water river they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the general thought his men not only enough refreshed, but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, and having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion, that the negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards that they are willing to betray them and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then in upon them with such

fury that disordered the whole army; which though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, it was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to [the] bay with the loss of above six hundred men, whereof their major general was one.

11 And this fright they never recovered, but within few days, after having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the negroes killing their men every day as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reimbark themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica, where they made another descent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, consisting of three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard; who received infinite damage from thence; they who were so easily frightened and beaten, when they were in a great body upon the other island, making after[wards frequent] incursions, with small numbers, into it from Jamaica, and sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Pen into England.

12 The other fleet, under the command of Blake, had better success, without any misadventures. And after he had reduced those of Algiers, where he anchored in their very mole, to submit to such conditions for the time past and the time to come as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for the king from thence returned a very rude

answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town; whilst he [sent] out several long boats manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbour, and set fire to all the ships which were there, being nine men of war; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the men, returned safe to the ships. This was indeed an action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

13 The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He had never such distempers, (for he had a great command over his passions,) as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again, and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished [the men] might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and a recruit of fifteen hundred men to carry on that work; and resolved nothing more than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

14 And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. And therefore he sent orders to Blake, that he should watch the return of the Plate-fleet, and do what mischief he could upon the coast of Spain; and gave direction to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between him and the cardinal

was now exposed to the light. And he sent Lockhart his ambassador into France, who was received with great solemnity; and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal. He made an alliance with France. And Cromwell undertook to send over an army of six thousand foot, to be commanded by their own superior officer, who was to receive orders only from marshal Turenne: and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell's hands. There were other more secret articles, which will be mentioned.

15 Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from England, before they heard any thing from Spain, that might better enable them to contend with [him;] and don Alonzo remained still in London without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the exchange, and fraternities entered into there for the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell sent to him to leave the kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into Flanders to increase the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The prince of Condé, whose troops and vigour [were] the preservation and life of that country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and phlegm of the archduke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the conte of Fuensaldagna, who he thought omitted many opportunities.

16 The archduke was weary of the title of governor of the Low Countries and general of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuensaldagna, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and having, by frequent complaints to Madrid, endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his dismissal, and Fuensaldagna himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the court, as well as

the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders consisted most in preserving the army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, and to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterprises and restless spirit of the prince of Condé; which spent their men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the archduke was not recompensed by any benefit from his service, besides the irreconcilableness with the archduke, by his having compelled him, by the authority of the king, to dismiss the count of Swassenburgh, whom he loved of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his post, and desired his deliverance [to be sent him] from Madrid.

17 And the council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the archduke and the conde; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in Germany, and to bring don Juan de Austria, the natural son of the king [of Spain,] who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time general in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with such restrictions as the king [of Spain] thought fit; and at the same time that the conde of Fuensaldagna should immediately enter upon the government of Milan; which had been exercised for the last six years by the marquis [of] Carracena, who was now to govern the army in Flanders under don Juan; and that the marquis, who had the most disadvantage by this promotion, might be the better pleased, they gave him such an addition of authority as could not but breed ill blood in don Juan; as it fell out afterwards. And this council was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to invade Flanders with two powerful armies, when it was upon the matter under no command.

18 The king was yet at Cologne; and no sooner heard of

the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain, but he concluded that the Spaniards would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him, at least that his fears were over of offending Cromwell. And therefore he sent privately to the archduke, and to Fuen-saldagna, to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonso was likewise there, and the long experience he had in England, and the quality he still held, made his judgment in these affairs to be most esteemed by them. And he, whether upon the conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the [late] and the present king, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the king's interest was condemned, he did in truth believe that [his majesty] could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make any conjunction with him; yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his majesty would draw off the Irish from the service of France; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some regiments from Spain, whilst he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion that they would confer with any body the king should authorize to treat with them; which when the king knew, he resolved to go to them himself; and left Cologne, attended only by two or three servants; and when he came near Brussels, sent to advertise the archduke at what distance he was, and that he would see him *incognito* in what place or manner he should think fit.

- ¹⁹ They either were or seemed to be much troubled that the king was come in person, and desired that he would by no means come to Brussels, but that he would remain in a little vile dorp about a league from Brussels, where he was vilely accommodated. Thither the comde of Fuen-saldagna and don Alonso came to [his majesty,] and the archduke met him privately at another place. [The king] quickly discovered that don Alonso had a private intrigue

with some officers of the [English] army, who were enemies to Cromwell, upon whose interest he more depended than upon the king's, and offered it as great merit to his majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make a conjunction with the king. And this correspondence between [don Alonzo] and those levellers was managed by an Irish Jesuit, who, by speaking Spanish, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The king pressed them that he might remove his family to Brussels, or into some place in Flanders, that it might be notorious that he was in alliance with his catholic majesty; and then they should quickly see he had another kind of interest in England than what those men pretended to, upon whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly find, if his majesty resided in that country, his influence upon the Irish who were in France.

20 They would by no means consent that his majesty should remain in Brussels, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the state to be there, which, they said, the king of Spain's honour would not permit, without shewing those respects to him that he might live in that grandeur as became a great king, which the present state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the charge of. But they intimated, that if his majesty would choose to remove his family to Bruges, and remain there with them, so far *incognito* as not [to] expect any public expensive reception, they were sure he would find all respect from the inhabitants of that city. The king desired that some treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of don Alonzo; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the king was permitted to reside in Bruges, and nothing on the king of Spain's part undertaken but that whenever the king could cause a good port town in England to declare for him, his catholic majesty would assist him with a body of

six thousand foot, and with such a proportion of ammunition, and so many ships to transport that body thither ; which was the proposition the levellers had made ; and don Alonzo, by making it the contract with the king, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party ; of the power of which he had no esteem.

21 The king discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident propositions of advantage to Spain as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him that the affairs in those provinces, which remained under Spain, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the king of Spain ; under which he might draw his family from Cologne, and remain in Flanders, which was at a just distance from England, and expect other alterations. And so he readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by don Alonzo, and signed it, and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at Bruges. Whereupon, after seven or eight days' stay in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engrossed and signed by the king, the archduke, and don Alonzo, in April, or the end of March 1657 ; the expedition being advanced by the necessity of the departure of the archduke and the conde of Fuensaldagna, who began their journeys within two or three days after the signing the treaty ; don Juan and the marquis of Carracena being known to be on their way, and both, though not together, within few days' journey of Flanders.

22 The treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an express into Spain for the approbation and signature of his catholic majesty. The king with his small train went to Bruges, and lodged in the house of a subject of his

own, the lord Taragh, an Irishman, who had been born in that country, and inherited an estate by his mother. There the king stayed till a handsome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having sent to his brother the duke of Gloucester, who remained yet at Cologne, to come to him, and that his family should all come from thence. So that by the time his majesty had returned again to Brussels, to congratulate don Juan's arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled with his family at Bruges as he had been at Cologne, where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied, which, in the low condition his majesty had been [in] and still was, gave reputation to his economy.

²³ As upon the dissolution of the unruly parliament Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Algiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; so he did not in the mean time neglect to take all the ways he could devise to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the king's party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him, yet he discerned, that by breaking their fortunes and estates he had not at all broken their spirits, and that by taking so many of their lives their numbers were not [much] lessened, and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him; to which he knew there were enough inclined who were no kinder to the other than himself.

²⁴ But that which troubled him most was the distemper

in his army, where he knew there were many troops more at the disposal of that party that would destroy him than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them [as] a guard to his own person; and to that purpose he sent a person to treat with colonel Balthazer, a man well known in the protestant cantons; but this came to be discovered, and he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an expedient which should provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army. He constituted out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to his person a body of major generals; that is, he assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be under his command as their major general: so that all England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man in those counties which were committed to his charge had all that authority which was before scattered among committee-men, justices of peace, and several other officers.

- 25 The major general committed [to prison] what persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all monies which were appointed by the protector and his council to be collected for the public; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and [there was] no appeal against any of their acts but to the protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own charge; and if they stayed longer, they should be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey his major general. A horseman

had eight pounds a year ; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon ; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. And by this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned by degrees that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power ; and besides that they carried themselves like so many bassas with their bands of janizaries towards the people, and were extremely odious to them of all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness ; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

26 When admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Algiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica, the war was sufficiently declared against the catholic king, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of admiral and general with him ; Blake finding himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cales in expectation of the [Spanish West] India fleet, and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water and some other provisions which they wanted, and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet, which within a very short time after the remove of the [English] fleet came upon the coast ; and before they were discovered by the captain of

the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got to them, (though he was inferior to them in number,) they rather thought of saving their wealth by flight than of defending themselves; and so the [Spanish] admiral run on shore in the bay, and the vice-admiral, in which was the vice-king of Mexico with his wife and sons and daughters, was fired by themselves to prevent being taken; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife and his eldest daughter, perished: his other daughters and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English, who took the rear-admiral and two other ships very richly laden, which, together with the prisoners, were sent into England, the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

27 The ships, which were sent for England, arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise, if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and so carried through the city to the Tower, to be there coined, as it was, within as short time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave it out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the Spaniard was very prodigious; though most of what was in the admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the [English] fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet, which was shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

28 Cromwell now thought his reputation both abroad and at home so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a parliament, and by their countenance and concurrence suppress or compose those refractory spirits which crossed him in all places; and having first made

such sheriffs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a parliament to meet at Westminster upon the seventeenth of September in the year 1656: when, upon the returns, he found that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned who were men of the most notorious malignity against him. [He] therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the house who did not first subscribe that they would act nothing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a protector; which being tendered, many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not for the most part the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges and freedom of parliament.

- 29 The major part frankly submitted and subscribed; [some of them,] that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. And so a speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that [the protector] began to hope that he had gained his point. With very little or no contradiction, they passed an act of renunciation of any title that Charles Stuart (for so they had long called the king) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition they passed another, whereby it was made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the protector. And then they passed several acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion

than had ever yet been raised. They granted tonnage and poundage to the protector for his life, and passed several other acts for the raising of monies; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways vast sums of money were to be, and afterwards were, exacted and raised. And all these acts they presented solemnly to his highness, to be confirmed by his royal authority; and he as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness.

30 But notwithstanding all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority; and notwithstanding all that was done, they might, for ought appeared, remove him from being both protector and general. There had been for some time jealousy between him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those major generals; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he did desire to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of parliament than [that it should] appear to be out of his own inclination. But there yet appeared neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor [any] difference between them.

31 The protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least that he had exercised from the time he was protector, confirmed and ratified by act of parliament.

And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any king ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, that it was pity the nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the government would be better, if it passed another consultation besides that of the house of commons. In matter of religion he would often speak, that there was much of good in the order of bishops, if the dross were scoured off. He courted very much many of the nobility, and used all the devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be king; which was the more confirmed, when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the parliament had despatched those acts which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the major generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several interests of the nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, that they might invest Cromwell with the title, rights, and dignity of a king; and then he [would know] what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied.

³² This proposition found a marvellous concurrence; and very many who used not to agree in any thing else were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him king. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the king, and to wish his restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the king's party were so deceived in their judgments, as really to believe that the making Cromwell king for the present was the best expedient for the restoration of his majesty; and that the army and the whole nation would

then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected and known would be the more detested.

- 33 But the more sober persons of the king's party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture; and believed that it was the only way utterly to destroy the king, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of spirit in them was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present government; that very many who had sustained the king's quarrel in the beginning were dead; that the present king, by his long absence out of the kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the king was more directed to the monarchy than to the person, and that if Cromwell were once made king, and so the government ran again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges which were due to them by their birthright, and so enemies irreconcilable to the [present] government, would by this alteration find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a king, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an act of parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of king Harry the Seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was without doubt at that time too much propension in too many of the nobility to

ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the house.

34 On the other side, Lambert, who was the second man of the army, and many other officers of account and interest, besides the country members, opposed this overture with great bitterness and indignation; and some of them said directly, that if, contrary to their oaths and engagements, and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last return and submit to the old government, and live again under a king, they would choose much rather to obey the true and lawful heir to the crown, who was descended from a long succession of kings who had managed the sceptre over the nation, than to submit to a person who at best was but their equal, and raised from the same degree of which they all were by themselves, and by the trust they had reposed in him had raised himself above them. That which put an end to the present debate was, (and which was as wonderful as any thing,) that some of his own family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as Desborough, Fleetwood, Whaley, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion as any of the other officers; and confidently undertook to know that himself would never consent to it; and therefore that it was very strange that any men should importune the putting such a question before they knew that he would accept it, except they took this way to destroy him. And upon this (for which the undertakers received no thanks) the first debate was put off till farther consideration.

35 The debate was resumed again the next day with the same warmth, the same persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the officers of the army,

as well [as] they who were the great dependents upon and creatures of Cromwell, as passionately opposed the making him king, as Lambert and the rest did, who looked to be successive protectors after his decease; only it was observed that they who the day before had undertaken that he himself would never endure it, (which had especially made the pause at that time,) urged that argument no more, but inveighed still against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his privy council, and others nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him king, and much the major part of the house concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a committee of six or seven of the most eminent members of the house to wait upon him, and to inform him of the very earnest desire of the house that he would take upon him the title of king; and if they should find any aversion in him, that they should then enlarge in giving him those reasons which had been offered in the house, and which had swayed the house to that resolution, which they hoped would have the same influence upon his highness.

- 36 He gave them audience in the painted chamber, when they made the bare overture to him as the desire of his parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them he wondered how any such thing came into their minds; that it was neither fit for them to offer, nor him to receive; that he was sure they could discover no such ambition in him, and that his conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that title. They who were well prepared to expect such an answer told him, that they hoped he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the parliament had desired upon such long and mature deliberation; that they knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest titles than to wear them; that they were appointed to

offer many reasons which had induced the house to make this request to him; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon him that had been made by [upon] them in the house. He was too desirous to give the parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say unto him, and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place; which they accordingly did.

- 37 When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out the nature of the English people, and the nature of the government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they had flourished from the time they had been a people: that though the extreme sufferings they had undergone by corrupt ministers, under negligent and tyrannical kings, had transported them to throw off the government itself, as well as to inflict justice upon the persons of the offenders; yet they found by experience that no other government would so well fit the nation as that to which it had been accustomed: that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his highness had taken, and which had been crowned even with miraculous success by the immediate blessing of divine Providence upon all his actions and all his counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet spirit in men that threatened the public peace and quiet; and that it was most apparent, by the daily combinations and conspiracies against the present government, how just and gentle and mild soever, that the heart of the nation was devoted to the old form, with which it was acquainted; and that it was love of that, not the affection to the young man who pretended a title to it, and was known to nobody, which disposed so many to wish for the return of it: that the name and title of a protector was never known to this kingdom, but in the hands of a subject during the reign

of an infant sovereign ; and therefore that the laws gave little respect to him, but were always executed in the name of the king, how young soever, and how unfit soever to govern : that whatsoever concerned the rights of any family or any personal pretence was well and safely over ; the nation was united, and of one mind in the rejection of the old line ; there was no danger of it ; but nobody could say that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old form of government, to which they were still most addicted : and therefore they besought him, out of his love and tenderness to the commonwealth, and for the preservation of the nation, which had got so much renown and glory under his conduct, that he would take that name and title which had ever presided over it, and by which as he could establish a firm peace at home, so he would find his fame and honour more improved abroad ; and that those very princes and kings, who out of admiration of his virtue and noble actions had contracted a reverence for his person, and an impatient desire of his friendship, would look upon him with much more veneration when they saw him clothed with the same majesty, and as much their equal in title as in merit, and would with much more alacrity renew the old alliances with England when they were renewed in the old form and under the old title, which would make them durable ; since no foreign prince could presume to take upon him to judge of the right of succession, which had been frequently changed in all kingdoms, not only upon the expiration of a line, but upon deprivation and deposition, in such manner as was most for the good and benefit of the people ; of which there was a fresh instance in their own eyes in the kingdom of Portugal ; where the duke of Braganza, without any other title than the election of the people, assumed the crown and title of king from the king of Spain, who had enjoyed it quietly, and without inter-

ruption, during three descents; and he was acknowledged as sovereign of that kingdom by the late king, who received his ambassadors accordingly.

38 Cromwell heard these and the like arguments with great attention, (and wanted not his approbation to have concurred with them; he thanked them for the pains they had taken,) to which he would not take upon him to give a present answer; that he would consider of all they had said to him, and resort to God for counsel; and then he would send for them, and acquaint them with his resolution: and so they parted, all men standing at gaze and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. And there is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind he did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed, that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself or some friend with them, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from them all severally (for such discourse could be held but with one at once) was, that if he would make himself king they should easily know what they had to do, but they knew nothing of the submission and obedience which they were to pay to a protector; and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

39 He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him, whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him; nor did he much consider those other officers of the army who in the house concurred with Lambert, whose interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as Lambert should

be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who he knew loved him, his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should with that virulence withstand this promotion grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured by all the ways he could to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, that they could do him no good if they should adhere to him; and therefore they were resolved for their own interest to leave him, and do the utmost they could against him from the time he assumed that title.

40 It was reported that an officer of name in the *eclaircissement* upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, that if ever he took the title of king upon him he would kill him. Certain it is that Cromwell was informed and gave credit to it, that there were a number of men who bound themselves by oath to kill him within so many hours after he should accept that title. They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream or apparition, that had first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed, that it had only declared that he should be the greatest man in England, and should be near to be king; which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the crown. Upon the whole matter, after a wonderful distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage did fail him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent

for the committee of parliament to attend him; and as his looks were marvellously discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses, with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensations, he concluded that he could not, with a good conscience, accept of the government under the title of a king.

41 Many were then of opinion that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the king's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration; and that if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many officers of the army who would not have left him, and who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person than from a parliament, or a new numerous council; that the first motion for the making him king was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in parliament; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident that he did very wisely to decline it, and that if he had accepted it he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him, which no particular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably for some time from such an assault by not going abroad; and when such designs are long deferred, they are commonly discovered, as appeared afterwards in many conspiracies against his life.

42 His interest and power over the army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those

officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, they were found to be of no signification, or to have influence upon any men. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to have so modelled and quartered his troops as to have secured him in any enterprise he would undertake. And it may be there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority, than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the king's restoration; and many of the soberest men of the nation confessed, after the king's return, that their dejected spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

- 43 But his modesty, or his wisdom, in the refusing that supreme title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted that he should enjoy the title and authority which he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars beyond what it was by the first instrument of government, by another instrument, which they called the humble petition and advice; and in which they granted him not only that authority for his life, but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence

of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of and to declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than [oppose it,] they sent to him for an audience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the banqueting house; where their speaker Withrington presented and read the petition and advice of his parliament, and desired his assent to it.

- 44 The contents and substance of it [were,] that his highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title of protector, be pleased to execute the office of chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, &c., and to govern according to all things in that petition and advice: and also, that he would in his lifetime appoint the person that should succeed him in the government: that he would call a parliament, consisting of two houses, once in a year at farthest: that those persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in parliament may not be excluded from doing their duties but by consent of that house whereof they are members: that none but those under the qualifications therein mentioned should be capable to serve as members in parliament: that the power of the other house be limited, as therein is prescribed: that the laws and statutes of the land be observed and kept; no laws altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by new laws made by act of parliament: that the yearly sum of a million of pounds sterling be settled for the maintenance of the navy and army; and three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the government; besides other temporary supplies, as the commons in parliament shall see the necessities of the nation to require: that the number of the protector's council shall not exceed the number of one and twenty;

whereof seven shall be a *quorum*: the chief officers of state, as chancellors, keepers of the great seal, &c. to be approved by parliament: that his highness would encourage a godly ministry in these nations; and that such as do revile and disturb them in the worship of God may be punished according to law; and where laws are defective, new ones are to be made: that the protestant Christian religion, as it is contained in the Old and New Testament, be asserted, and held forth for the public profession of these nations, and no other; and that a confession of faith be agreed upon, and recommended to the people of these nations; and none to be permitted, by words or writing, to revile or reproach the said confession of faith.

45 After this petition and advice was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his eyes, and other gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and he told them, that he came not thither that day as to a day of triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greatest burdens that ever was laid upon the back of any human creature; so that, without the support of the Almighty, he must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the nations committed to his charge: therefore he desired the help of the parliament, and the help of all those who feared God, that by their help he might receive help and assistance from the hand of God, since nothing but his presence could enable him to discharge so great a trust. He told them, that this was but an introduction to the carrying on of the government of the three nations; and therefore he commended the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the wisdom of the parliament; and said, he could not doubt but the same spirit that had led the parliament to this, would easily suggest the rest to them; and that nothing should have induced him to have undertaken

this intolerable burden to flesh and blood, but that he saw it was the parliament's care to answer those ends for which they were engaged; calling God to witness that he would not have undergone it, but that the parliament had determined that it made clearly for the liberty and interest of the nation, and preservation of such as fear God; and if the nations were not thankful to them for their care, it would fall as a sin on their heads. He concluded with recommending some things to them, which, he said, would tend to reformation, by discountenancing vice and encouraging virtue; and so dismissed them to return to their house.

46 But now that they had performed all that he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself, and that all the discourses which had passed of kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity as should make it very little inferior to the other. And therefore, within few days after, he sent a message to the parliament, that they would adjourn until such time as the solemnity of his inauguration should be over; (for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered; as if enough had been done already :) and for which he appointed the six and twentieth of June; and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

47 On the day appointed, Westminster hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of estate under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sat in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the pro-

logue of that by the speaker of the parliament, Withrington, that this promotion might not be without any vote from the nobility, the speaker, with the earl of Warwick, and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines, the speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and lastly presented him a sceptre of gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those emblems of government and authority. Upon the close of which, there being nothing wanting to a perfect formal coronation but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the speaker, in these words:

48 “ I do, in the presence and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to the utmost of my power and understanding, and encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preserving of the peace and safety, and just rights and privileges of the people thereof; and shall in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law.”

49 After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might well consider how to fill his other house with members fit for his purpose, he

adjourned his parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. And in this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be very much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all that the parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

50 He sent now for his eldest son Richard, who, till this time, had lived privately in the country upon the fortune his wife had brought him in an ordinary village in Hampshire, and brought him now to the court, and made him a privy counsellor, and caused him to be chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor; he by his discourses often implying that he would name such a successor as was in all respects equal to the office: and so men guessed at this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he sent into Ireland, and made him his lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

51 He had only two daughters unmarried: and one of those he gave to the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and thoroughly engaged in the war from the beginning; the other was married to the lord viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. And there were many reasons to believe that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed, that though

the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by ministers ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

52 These domestic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the success of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply their forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own use; in which the six thousand English under the command of Raynolds attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his ambassador Lockhart made such lively instances with the cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces, that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend; that as soon as they had taken Montmedy [and St. Venant] the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardike; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; and which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that fort they took and delivered it into the hands of Raynolds, with an obligation, that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year with the first attempt.

53 But that which made a noise indeed, and crowned his successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cales and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the [West] Indian

fleet, and understood by the prisoners, that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The admirals concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had [done,] or could do to block up Cales, that one way or other they would not be without that advertisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that if it were possible they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.

54 And with this resolution they stood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle, moored along the shore, and the six great galleons, (the fleet consisted of sixteen good ships,) which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides towards the offing. And besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered by a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts, raised in the most advantageous places of the bay, every one of them furnished with six good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

55 When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the general saw in what posture the Spaniards lay, and thought it impossible to bring off any of the galleons; however, [he] resolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impossible,)

and sent captain Stayner with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons ; which he did very resolutely ; whilst other frigates entertained the forts and lesser breastworks with continual broadsides, to hinder their firing. And so the generals coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them ; yet found that their work was not done ; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again ; [so] that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore, which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power ; and so discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every ship, galleons and others, and burned every one of them ; which they had no sooner done, but the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loss of one ship out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

56 The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place concluded that no sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever undertake it ; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done ; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief that they were devils, and not men, [who] had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action ; no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the [Spanish] ships and on the shore was incredible.

57 The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake, who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the sound of Plymouth he expired. But he wanted no pomp [of funeral] when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and then, according to the method of that time, to encourage his officers to be killed that they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's chapel, [among] the monument[s] of the kings. He was a man of an ordinary extraction, yet left enough by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the university [of Oxford;] where he took the degree of a master of arts, and was versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having enough of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a better man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his morosity, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time and the power of the court. And they who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles began, he quickly declared himself against the king; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by prince Rupert and the marquis of Hertford, and being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up, after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience

in war, and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. He then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there, and was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had been long in practice to keep his ship and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him only to make a noise and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that drew the copy of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievement.

58 After all this lustre and glory, in which the protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the parliament again together. And they did not reassemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new institutions of government are; and when the contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

59 Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the commons, by having called the other house; which by the petition was to be done; and having filled it for the

most part with officers of the army, and such other as he had good reason to be confident of. And so on the twentieth of January, the day appointed to meet, (whereas, before, the parliament used to attend him in the painted chamber when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the house of lords; where his new creations were; and then he sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to call the commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that house, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of state, began his speech in the old style, “My lords, and you, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of commons:” and then discoursed some particulars which he recommended to them; thanked them for their fair correspondence the last session; and assured them, if they would continue to prosecute his designs, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and generations to come should bless them.

60 But as soon as the commons came to their house, they caused the third article of the petition and advice to be read; by which it was provided that no members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their duty but by consent of that house of which they were members. Upon which they proceeded to the calling over their house, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that recognition of the protector; and by this means near two hundred of the most inveterate enemies the protector had came and sat in the house; whereof sir Harry Vane, Haslerig, and many other signal men were some; who had much the more credit and interest in the house, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it valuing themselves for having thereby become instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted.

61 As soon as these men came into the house, they began

to question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house; it was true that the petition and advice had admitted that there should be such a house, but that it should be a house of peers, that they should be called *my lords*, there was no provision; nor did it appear what jurisdiction it should have: that it would be a very ridiculous thing if they should suffer those who were created by themselves, and sat only by their vote, [to] be better men than they, and have a negative voice to control their masters. When they had enough vilified them, they questioned the protector's authority to send writs to call them thither: Who gave him that authority to make peers? it had been the proper business of that house to have provided for all this; which it is probable they would have done at this meeting, if he had not presumptuously taken that sovereign power upon him.

- 62 Cromwell was exceedingly surprised and perplexed with this new spirit; and found that he had been short-sighted in not having provided at the same time for the filling his house of commons, when he erected his other of peers: for he had taken away those out of that house who were the boldest speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other house, without supplying those other places by men who could as well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one effort more, and convened both houses before him, and very magisterially, and in a dialect he had never used before, he reprehended them for presuming to question his authority. The other house, he said, were lords, and they should be lords, and commanded them to enter upon such business as might be for the benefit, not the distraction of the commonwealth, which he would with God's help prevent. And when he found this animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his house

of lords upon the [fourth] of February; and sending for the commons, after he [had] used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them that it concerned his interest, as much as the peace and tranquillity of the nation, to dissolve that parliament, and therefore he did put an end to their sitting. And so that cloud was for the present dissipated that threatened so great a storm.

63 The parliament being dissolved, Cromwell found himself at ease to prosecute his [other] designs. After the taking of Mardike, Raynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the English in the service of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a visit, was, together with some other officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the parliament, Lockhart, who was his [the protector's] ambassador in France, was designed to take that charge upon him; and all things, which were to be transported from England, for the prosecution of the business in Flanders the next spring, were executed with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the cardinal to imagine that he [the protector] was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the parliament.

64 And as soon as he was rid of that, he thought it as necessary to give some instances at home, how little he feared those men who were thought to be so much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with Lambert, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being major general in the north, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the officers he [Cromwell] substituted

in the several places found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and Lambert retired to his garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in authority; which gave great reputation to the protector, that he was entire master of his army.

65 He had observed throughout the parliament that the major generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For whilst his party were prosecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of king conferred upon him, Lambert was as solicitous to have the major generals confirmed by parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which with the authority they had of listing men in a readiness, would have made their power and their strength in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, he [Cromwell] was content to continue their names, that they might still be formidable in the counties, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to him[self.]

66 He took likewise an occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the people with the apprehension of plots at home to facilitate an invasion from abroad; and sending for the lord mayor and aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse, of the danger they were in of being surprised; that there was a design to seize upon the Tower; and at the same time that there should be a general insurrection in the city of the cavaliers and discontented party, whilst they remained so secure, that they had put their militia into no posture to be ready to preserve themselves in such an attempt; but on the contrary, that they were so negligent in their discipline, that the marquis of Ormond had lain securely in the city full three weeks without being discovered; who was sent over by the king to countenance a general insurrection, whilst the king himself, he said, had ten thousand men ready at Bruges, with two and twenty

ships, with which he meant to invade some other more northern part of the kingdom. He wished them to lose no time in putting their militia into a good posture, and [to] make very strict searches to discover what strangers were harboured within the walls of the city, and to keep good watches every night. And he caused double guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary [occasion] for all this, he caused very many persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the king's party, to be surprised in the night in their beds, (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious,) and, after some short examination, to be sent to the Tower, and to other prisons; for there was at the same time the same severity used in the several counties; for the better explanation and understanding whereof it will be necessary now that we return to Flanders.

- 67 Within little more than two months after the king's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been signed by the archduke with the king was sent ratified from Madrid by the king of Spain, with many great compliments; which the king was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses for the lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those services which are due from and to a great king, they let his majesty know that the catholic king had assigned so many crowns as amounted to six thousand guilders to be paid every month towards a royal aid; and half so much more for the support of the duke of Gloucester; and that though the sum was very small, it was as much as their necessities would bear; and the smallness should be recompensed by the punctuality of the payment; the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the king had been

already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the least present or assistance towards his support.

68 They were willing that the king should raise four regiments of foot, which should march with their army, until the king should find the season ripe to make an invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raising those four regiments there was not one penny allowed, or any other encouragement than little quarters to bring their men to, and after their muster, the common allowance of bread. However, the king was glad of the opportunity to employ and dispose of many officers and soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into Flanders. He resolved to raise one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his majesty should be in such a posture that they might be brought about his person. The marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to come over. The earl of Rochester would have a regiment, that such officers and soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his command: and because the Scots had many officers about the court who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to them, the king gave the fourth regiment to the lord Newburgh, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage, and who had served his father and himself with very signal fidelity. And those four regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined upon so little encouragement.

69 As soon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth from the time that his majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniard as they would permit, he gave notice to the

king of France, that he would no longer receive that pension, which during the time he had remained at Cologne had been reasonably well paid; but after his coming into Flanders he never would receive any part of it.

70 The Spanish army was at this time before Condé, a place garrisoned by the French between Valenciennes and Cambray, which was invested now by don Juan, who finding that the greatest part of the garrison consisted of Irish, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Muskery, a nephew of the marquis of Ormond, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the Irish had upon the king; and therefore writ to his majesty at Bruges, and desired that he would send the marquis to the camp; which his majesty could not refuse; and the marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the chancellor [of the exchequer] was sent to Brussels (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first months, which were assigned to the king) to confer with don Alonzo de Cardinas upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the winter upon England; don Juan and the marquis [of] Carracena referring all things which related to England to him [don Alonzo,] and [being] very glad that the chancellor went to Brussels, at the same time that the marquis went to the camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

71 Condé was reduced to straits by the time the marquis came thither, who was received with much more civility by don Juan, at least by the marquis of Carracena, than any man who related to the king, or indeed than the king himself. The thing they desired of him was, that when the garrison should be reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with those of the Irish

nation, when they marched out, to enter into the Spanish service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own king: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter into England; especially they desired that his nephew Muskery, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his regiment, which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After the capitulation was signed, the marquis easily found opportunity to confer with his nephew, and the other officers of the several regiments. When he had informed them of the king's pleasure, and that the entering into the service of the Spaniard was for the present necessary, in order to the king's [service,] the other regiments made no scruple of it, and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go whither they should be directed.

- 72 Only Muskery expressly refused that either himself or any of his men should leave their colours, till, according to his articles, they should march into France. He said it was not consistent with his honour to do otherwise. But he declared that as soon as he should come into France, he would leave his regiment in their quarters, and would himself ride to the court and demand his pass, which by his contract with the cardinal was to be given to him whenever his own king should demand his service, and his regiment should likewise be permitted to march with him. It was urged to him, that it was now in his own power to dispose of himself, which he might lawfully do, but that when he was found in France he would no more have it in his power. He said he was bound to ask his dismissal, and the cardinal was bound to give it: and when he had done his part, he was very confident the cardinal would not break his word with him; but if he should, he would get nothing by it; for he knew his men would follow him whithersoever he went; and therefore desired his uncle to satisfy

himself, and to assure the king and don Juan that he would within six weeks return; and if he might have quarters assigned him, his regiment should be there within few days after him. It was in vain to press him farther, and the marquis telling don Juan that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had much a better esteem of him than of the other officers who came to him, and brought over their men without any ceremony.

73 Muskery marched away with the rest of the garrison; and as soon as he was in France he rode to Paris, where the cardinal then was, who received him with extraordinary grace; but when he asked his dismissal, and urged his capitulation, the cardinal, by all imaginable caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him that this was only to serve the Spaniard, and not his own king; who had no employment for him: that if he would stay in their service till the king had need of him, he would take care to send him and his regiment in a better condition to [his majesty] than they were now in. When he could neither by promises nor reproaches divert him from quitting their service, he gave him a pass only for himself, and expressly refused to dismiss the regiment, averring that he was not bound to it, because there could be no pretence that they could serve the king, who had no use of them, nor wherewithal to pay them.

74 He [Muskery] took what he could get, his own pass; and made haste to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three servants to Brussels; and desired don Juan to assign him convenient quarters for his regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that by sixes and sevens his whole regiment, officers and

soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment as of any that was in their service.

- 75 When the marquis proposed any thing that concerned the king, during the time he was in the army, [don Juan] still writ to don Alonzo to confer with the chancellor [of the exchequer] about it; who found [don Alonzo] in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by an Irish Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the levellers, that after he had received the money that was assigned to the king, he returned to Bruges, as the marquis did from the army, when the business of Condé was over.
- 76 It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence began between Cromwell and the cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambassador, that the cardinal had not only promised that the king should receive no assistance from thence, but that nobody who related to his service, or against whom any exceptions should be taken, should be permitted to reside in France; and that as the king had already been driven thence, so, when the time should be ripe, the duke of York would be likewise necessitated to leave that kingdom. And now upon the king's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the six thousand English for the service of France, and the publication of the treaty [with Cromwell, the French] did not much desire to keep that article secret which provided against the king's residing in that kingdom, and for the exclusion of the duke of York, and many other persons, by name, who attended upon the king, and some who had charges in the army. And the cardinal and the queen, with some seeming regret, com-

municated it to the duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

- 77 Amongst those who by that secret article were to leave the French service, the earl of Bristol was one; whose name was, as was generally believed, put into the article by the cardinal, rather than by Cromwell. For the earl having received very great obligations from the cardinal, thought his interest greater in the queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural custom of deceiving himself,) and so in the [cardinal's] disgrace and retirement had shewed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have [been;] which the cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before, (which the earl took for pure friendship,) until the time came for the publishing this treaty, when the earl was lieutenant general of the army in Italy. And then he sent for him; and bewailed the condition that France was in, which obliged them to receive commands from Cromwell, which were very uneasy to them; then told him that he could stay no longer in their service, and that they must be compelled to dismiss the duke of York himself; but then made infinite professions of kindness, and that they would part with him as with a man that had done them great service. The earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice of Cromwell, and quickly had the image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of money from them as he could, and the cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a present as enabled him to remove with a handsome equipage in servants and horses. And so he came directly for Bruges

to the king, to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his majesty left Paris. But his business there was only to present his duty to his majesty; where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his service to don Juan, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the king.

78 There was nothing more known than that the Spaniard had all the imaginable prejudice and hatred against the earl, both for the little kindness he had shewed towards them in England, whilst he was secretary of state, of which don Alonzo was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the French service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in Spain. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to Flanders, where he was proclaimed, and detested in all the rhymes and songs of the country, for the savage outrages he had committed by fire and plunder two years before, when he made a winter incursion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waste than ever the French themselves had done, when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends dissuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spanish army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisements; and told them that all the time he was in France he was out of his sphere; and that his own genius always disposed him to Spain, where he was now resolved to make his fortune. And with this confidence he left Bruges, and went to the army, when it had newly taken Condé; where he found his reception such, both from don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

79 He was present when don Juan eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly

of scholastical points, if his confessor or other learned person was present. The earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and don Juan began to be very much pleased in his company; and the more, because he was much given to the speculations in astrology; in which he found the earl so much more conversant than any man he had met with, that within a week after he had first seen him he desired the earl to compute his nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to him [don Juan;] which when the marquis Carracena discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the earl having been lieutenant general of the French army under prince Thomas, in conjunction with the duke of Modena against Milan, the very year before, when the marquis Carracena was governor there, he could both discourse the several transactions there with the marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions both in his presence and absence to magnify his conduct in signal actions, which the marquis was very glad to see and hear that he did very frequently. And don Alonzo himself being sent for to the army to consult some affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in don Juan and the marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the affairs of England; which he desired don Juan and the marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the court and to the army; and suppressed and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and don Juan invited him to spend the winter with him at Brussels.

80 There was another accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own stars. The French had yet a garrison at a place called St. Ghislain; which being within four leagues of Brussels, infested the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny against the court, because they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the garrison was Irish, under the command of Schomberg, an officer of the first rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to Sir George Lane, who was secretary to the marquis of Ormond, and had written to him to know whether the giving up that place would be a service to the king; and if it would, they would undertake it. The marquis sent his secretary to inform the earl of Bristol of it, who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from heaven to raise his fortune with the Spaniard. And he communicated it to don Juan, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a service to the king. And so now he became intrusted between the king and don Juan; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; don Juan being very glad to find he had so much interest in the king, and the king well pleased that he had such credit with don Juan, of whose assistance in the next winter he thought he should have so much use; for all attempts upon England must be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Ghislain was so acceptable to the Spaniards, their campaign being ended without any other considerable action than the taking of Condé, that they foresaw a very sad year would succeed if they should enter into the field, where they were sure the French would be early, and leave St. Ghislain behind them; and they should run more hazard if they began with the siege of that place; and therefore they

authorized the earl to promise great rewards, in money and pensions, to those officers and soldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that don Juan assembling his army together a little before Christmas, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though Schomberg discovered the conspiracy and apprehended two or three of the officers, [yet] the soldiers, which were upon the guard in some outforts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

- 81 This service was of infinite importance to the Spaniard, and of no less detriment to the French, and consequently gave great reputation to the earl, who then came to the king at Bruges; and said all that he thought fit of don Juan to the king, and amongst the rest, that don Juan advised his majesty to send some discreet person to Madrid, to solicit his affairs there; but that he did not think the person he had designed to send thither (who was De Vic, that had been long resident in Brussels) would be acceptable there. This was only to introduce another person, who was dear to him, sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly his servant when he was secretary of state, and bred by him, and was now secretary to the duke of York; but, upon the factions which were in that family, was so uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other post; and was about this time come to the king, as a forerunner to inform him of the duke of York's purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the court of France. Bennet had been long a person very acceptable to the king; and therefore his majesty readily consented that he should go to Madrid instead of De Vic: and so he returned with the earl to Brussels, that he might be pre-

sented and made known to don Juan ; from whom the earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

82 The time was now come that the duke of York found it necessary to leave Paris, and so came to the king to Bruges ; where there were then all the visible hopes of the crown of England together, and all the royal issue of the last king, the princess Henrietta only excepted ; for, besides the king and his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the princess royal of Orange made that her way from Paris into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her brother[s].

83 And then it was that the king made the chancellor of the exchequer lord high chancellor of England, sir Edward Herbert, who was the last keeper of the great seal, being lately dead at Paris. And so the king put the seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the chancellor, which he received very unwillingly : but the king first put the marquis of Ormond, with whom [his majesty] knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it ; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great seal, till the king should come into England ; and, that his majesty found some ease in being without such an officer, that he was not troubled with those suits which he would be if the seal were in the hands of a proper officer to be used, since every body would be then importuning the king for the grant of offices, honours, and lands, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and he would undergo great mischief by granting. The which when the marquis told the king,) his majesty himself went to the chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him, and said he would deal truly and freely with him ; that the principal reason which he had alleged against receiving the seal was the

greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him. And thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris for the grant of several re-versions in England of offices and of lands; one whereof was of the queen's house and lands at Oatlands, to the same man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good sum of money to that person who was to procure such a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the seal presently put to it, which being in the king's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His majesty told him also of many other importunities with which he was every day disquieted, and that he saw no other remedy, to give him[self] ease, than to put the seal out of his own keeping into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny. And thereupon he conjured the chancellor to receive that trust, with many gracious promises of his favour and protection. Whereupon, the earl of Bristol and secretary Nicholas using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure, who delivered the seal to him in council in the Christmas time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mentioned, because many great affairs and some alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

84 After so long and so dark a retirement in Cologne, the king's very coming into Flanders raised the spirits of his friends in England. And when they were assured that there was a treaty signed between his majesty and the king of Spain, they made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finish it. And the king, who had hitherto restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture that they

might be ready to join with him when he appeared, which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several messengers were sent from [England] to assure him that there was so universal a readiness there, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to expect the king, but they would begin the work themselves : yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the king, who again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, who would ruin themselves and all people who should join with them.

85 The king was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those who, being united, would find the work very hard ; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those who were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable engagement ; and therefore [he] sent to them, and conjured them to attempt nothing, till he sent a person to them, who, if they were ready, should have authority enough to persuade the rest to a conjunction with them, and should himself be fit to conduct them in any reasonable enterprise.

86 The marquis of Ormond had frankly offered to the king that he would privately go into England, and confer with those who were most forward ; and if he found that their counsels were discreetly laid, he would encourage them, and unite all the rest to them ; and if matters were not ripe, he would compose them to be quiet ; and there was no man in England affected to the king's service who would not be readily advised by him. The chancellor would by no means consent to his journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger ; and it cannot be conceived with what security all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell's

jealousy and vigilancy, to go into England, and to stay a month in London, and return again. The king consenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the marquis's absence from Bruges might not create jealousy and discourse, whither he should be gone. Therefore it was for some time discoursed that the marquis of Ormond was to go into Germany to the duke of Newburgh, (who was known to have affection for the king,) and that he should from thence bring with him two regiments for the service of his majesty.

- 87 These discourses being generally made and believed, the marquis took his leave publicly of the king, with his servants fit for such a journey, which continued the journey toward Germany; so that the letters from Cologne to all places gave an account of the marquis of Ormond's being there; whilst he himself, with one only servant, and O'Neile, (who had inflamed him very much to that undertaking,) took the way of Holland, and hired a bark at Schevelin, in which they embarked, and were safely landed in Essex; from whence without any trouble they got to London, whilst the parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found opportunity to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose advice and interest the king most depended, and against whose positive advice [his majesty] would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an animosity between many of those who equally wished the king's restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in meetings or correspondencies before, complained very much of the rashness of the other, who believed any officer of the army who pretended discontent, and would presently

desire them to communicate with such persons; and because they refused, (as they had reason,) the other laded them with reproaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his majesty's service: they protested that they could not discover or believe that there was any such preparation in readiness, that it could be counselable to appear in arms against a government so fortified and established as the protector's seemed to be: that it was probable the parliament might not comply with Cromwell's desires; and then there was such a discovery of malice between several persons of potent conditions, that many advantages might be offered to the king's party; and if they would have the patience to attend the event, and till those factions should be engaged in blood, they might be sure to advance the king's interest in disposing of themselves; but if they should engage before such a time in any insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant town, all dissenting parties would be reconciled, till [the king's friends] should all be ruined, though they would afterwards return to their old animosities. In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared such a resignation to the king's pleasure, that if the marquis were satisfied upon his conference with other men, that the time was ripe for their appearance in arms, they would presently receive his orders, and do what he should require, how unsuccessfully soever.

88 On the other side, there were many younger men, who having had no part in the former war, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the king. And those men being acquainted with many of the old officers of the late king's army, who saw many of their old soldiers now in Cromwell's army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded [that] they would all appear for the king, as soon as they should see his colours flying. And these men talking together would often discourse how easy a thing it would be with two

troops of horse to beat up such a quarter, or seize such a guard, and then those men consulted how to get those troops, and found men who had listed so many which would be ready upon call. There were always in these meetings some citizens who undertook for the affection of the city, and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials that many honest men had built their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little worthy to be depended upon.

89 There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made men impatient to be in arms; which was an opinion, that the king was even ready to land with such an army [as] would be able to do his business. And this had been dispersed by some who had been sent expresses into Flanders, who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the king, yet found some friends and acquaintance about the court, or in their way, who thought they did good service in making his majesty to be thought to be in a good condition, and so filled those people with such discourses as would make them most welcome when they returned.

90 When the marquis had taken a full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any action till they should be infallibly sure of the king's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the parliament was

dissolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quartermaine, who was the king's physician, through Sussex; and there embarked, and safely transported into France; from whence he came well into Flanders.

91 This gave the occasion to Cromwell to make that discourse before mentioned to the mayor and aldermen of London, of the lord marquis of Ormond's having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into his [Cromwell's] hand; which he could as easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when [the protector] was well assured that the marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all persons, who he knew had, or he thought might have spoken with him, to be apprehended. All prisons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with those who had been of the king's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his enemies of all conditions within the kingdom, with spectacles which might mortify them.

92 In the preparations which had been made towards an insurrection, many persons in the country, as well as in the city, had received commissions for regiments of horse and foot, and amongst the rest one Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the county of Sussex, whose mother had been sister to the earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the king's judges. This son of his, and who possessed his estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the company of those who were known to have affection for the king, and upon all occasions made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his life and his fortune for his majesty's restoration; and not only his fortune, but his interest was considerable in

that maritime county: so that many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that estate which the treason of his father had forfeited.

93 There was a young gentleman, John Mordaunt, the younger son, and brother of the earl of Peterborough, who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedication of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the king, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence to take the same resolution; and being allied to the marquis of Ormond, he did by him inform his majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the marquis's journey into England.

94 Mr. Stapley was well known to Mr. Mordaunt, who had represented his affections to the king, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in Sussex, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a letter to the king under his Mr. Stapley's own hand: and thereupon Mr. Mordaunt desired that his majesty would send a commission for the command of a regiment of horse to him, which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. Mordaunt; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapley, who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his vows and protestations, and it is still believed he really meant all that he pretended. But he had trusted some servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by Cromwell, his father's fast old friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was

not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew all which he asked him already, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received commissions as well as himself; and in the end he confessed that he had received his commission from Mr. Mordaunt's own hand. Before this discovery, Mr. Mordaunt had been sent for by Cromwell, and very strictly examined whether he had seen the marquis of Ormond during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the marquis himself was in safety; upon which confident denial he was dismissed to return to his own lodging. But upon this discovery by Stapley he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close prisoner to the Tower; and new men were every day sent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdom; and within some time after, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the prisoners, the crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all men who knew how liable they themselves were under a terrible consternation.

- 95 Before this high court of justice, of which John Lisle, who gave his vote in the king's blood, and continued an entire confident and instrument of Cromwell, was president, there were first brought to be tried, John Mordaunt, sir Harry Slingsby, a gentleman of a very ancient family and of a very ample fortune in Yorkshire, and Dr. Hewet, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whose church those of the king's party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against [himself,] they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would

be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and desire to have counsel assigned to argue against it in point of law; they being both sufficiently instructed how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The first that was brought to trial [was Mr. Mordaunt. After his arraignment,] by which he found that the delivery of the commission to Stapley would be principally insisted on, and [which] he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead not-guilty, but insisted, that by the law of the land he ought not to be tried by that court; for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired that his counsel might have liberty to argue the point in law, which of course used to be granted in all legal courts. But he was told that he was better to bethink himself; that they were well satisfied in the legality of their court, and would not suffer the jurisdiction of it to be disputed; that the law of England had provided a sentence for such obstinate persons as refused to be tried by it, which was, that they should be condemned as mute; which would be his case, if he continued refractory: and so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir Harry Slingsby was called [next,] and knowing nothing of or for the other resolution, he pleaded not-guilty; and so was sent to the prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewet, whose greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the king, besides having given money to some officers, refused to plead, as Mr. Mordaunt had done, and demanded that his counsel might be heard; and received the same answer and admonition that [the other] had done, and was remitted again to the prison.

96 Those courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty judges; amongst whom there were usually some, who, out of generosity, or for money, were inclined to do good offices to the prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such secrets to them as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. And Mr. Mordaunt's lady had, by giving any money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her husband; and in the evening of that day, when the trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, that she should prevail with her husband to plead; and then his friends might do him some service; whereas, if he insisted upon the point of law, he would infallibly suffer, and no man durst speak for him. The other, that they had not sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the commission to Stapley; and that there was to that point, besides Stapley, one colonel Mallory, whose testimony was more valued than the other's. This Mallory had the reputation of an honest man, and loved Mr. Mordaunt very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of Sussex, and had been apprehended about the same [time] that Stapley was; and finding, upon his first examination, by the questions which were administered to him by Thurlow, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordaunt; having been himself the person principally employed between him and Stapley. [He] was brought in custody from the Tower, to give in evidence against Mr. Mordaunt, with an intention, after he had done that good service, to proceed as strictly against him[self,] though they promised him indemnity.

97 The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her

husband that he should no more insist upon the want of jurisdiction in the court. For there was no possibility of speaking with or sending to him during the time of his trial. Therefore she laid aside the thoughts of that business till the morning, and spent the night in contriving how Mallory might be prevailed with to make an escape; and was so dexterous and so fortunate, that a friend of [hers] disposed the money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when [Mallory] was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found some way to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he easily got abroad.

98 She had as good fortune likewise to have a little note she writ concerning the other advice put into [her husband's] hand as he passed to the bar, [which having perused] he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the president in more choler answering as he had done, he submitted to his trial, and behaved himself with courage, and easily evaded the greatest part of the evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the marquis of Ormond; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the king with notable address. That of the commission of Stapley was reserved to the last; and the commission being produced, and both the hand and the signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at Worcester, and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapley was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. Mordaunt, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the counsel that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. Mordaunt; [yet] he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared that he

had much rather not have said it, and answered the questions Mr. Mordaunt asked him with that confusion, that his evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial judges. And then Mallory was called for; but by no search could be found; so that they could not, by their own rules, defer their sentence. And it so fell out, [by one of the judges withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the stone,] that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single vote of the president; who made some excuses for the justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the prisoner, and in contemplation thereof pronounced him innocent for aught appeared to the court. There was not in Cromwell's time the like instance, and scarce any other man escaped the judgment that was tried before any high court of justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept many months after in the Tower, (whereas he ought to have been released the same moment,) and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For within a day or two after, Mallory was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a Frenchman, who had long served him, and was the only servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the prison, and who had discovered enough to have taken away his life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the case [so] unheard of, that any man discharged upon a public trial should be again proceeded against upon new evidence for the same offence, that Cromwell himself thought not fit to undergo the reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty before he embarked himself as frankly in the king's service as before, and with better success.

99 Sir Harry Slingsby and poor Dr. Hewet had worse fortune ; and their blood was the more thirsted after for the other's indemnity ; and the court was too severely reprehended to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in prison in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new plot, to make so many formidable examples as the present conjuncture required. They had against him evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible fidelity to the crown from the first assaulting it,) that he had contrived, and contracted with some officers of Hull, about the time that the earl of Rochester had been in Yorkshire, two years before, for the delivery of one of the block-houses to him for the king's service ; nor did he care to defend himself against the accusation ; but rather acknowledged and justified his affection, and owned his loyalty to the king, with very little compliment or ceremony to the present power. The other, Dr. Hewet, receiving no information of Mr. Mordaunt's declining the way formerly resolved upon, (which [it] was not possible to convey to him in that instant, nobody being suffered to speak with him,) and being brought to the bar as soon as the other was removed from it, he persisted in the same resolution, and spake only against the illegality of the court ; which upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his trial ; but they then refused to admit him ; and so sentence of death was pronounced against them both ; which they both underwent with great Christian courage.

100 Sir Harry Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first rank of the gentlemen of Yorkshire, and was returned to serve as a member in the parliament that continued so many years ; where he sat till the troubles began ; and having no relation to or dependence upon the court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest [the] violent

and undutiful behaviour [of that parliament.] He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words; and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their counsels, in which he never concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the king. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had a greater influence upon the people than they who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him. For he was uncle to the lord Falconbridge, who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. And when he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse, but told them he was to die for being an honest man, of which he was very glad.

101 Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman, and bred a scholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little church in London; where by the affection of the parish he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of malignity. When the lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the church; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the protector to preserve his life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his mercy.

102 It was then believed that if he had pleaded he might

have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the king at Cologne or Bruges, with which he was charged in his impeachment, and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for besides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, colonel Ashton, Stacy, and Betteley, who were condemned by the same court, who were treated with more severity, and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigour, in several great streets in the city, to make the deeper impression upon the people, the two last being citizens. But all men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to [re-prieve] them; amongst whom Mallory was one; who was not at liberty till the king's return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than they were against whom he had trespassed.

103 Though the king and all who were faithful to him were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not seem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true, the king's party was the more dispirited; but he [Cromwell] found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than that, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him and who had raised him, even the whole body of sectaries, anabaptists, independents, quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise entered into several conspiracies to assassinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an address to the king by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction and great parts, by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the

king; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour if he received service from them, and to believe that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

104 Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and in truth of that time, cannot be better described and represented than by that petition and address, which was never published, nor of which there remains no other copy in any hand than that original which was presented to the king, (it being too dangerous a thing for any man who remained in England to have any such transcript in his custody,) it will not be amiss in this place to insert that petition and address, in the very words in which it was presented to his majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from that gentleman who is mentioned before, who was an anabaptist of special trust amongst them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the king's pleasure upon the reception of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the king in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst [those sectaries] without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity: for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the king, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words:

105 *To his most excellent majesty, Charles the Second, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.*

“The humble address of the subscribers, in the behalf of themselves, and many thousands more, your majesty's most humble and faithful subjects.

“May it please your majesty,

106 “When we sit down and recount the wonderful and unheard of dispensations of God amongst us, when we call to our remembrances the tragical actions and transactions of these late

times, when we seriously consider the dark and mysterious effects of Providence, the unexpected disappointment of counsels, the strange and strong convulsions of state, the various and violent motions and commotions of the people, the many changings, turnings, and overturnings of governors and governments, which, in the revolutions of a few years, have been produced in this land of miracles, we cannot but be even swallowed up in astonishment, and are constrained to command an unwilling silence upon our sometimes mutinous and over-inquiring hearts, resolving all into the good-will and pleasure of that all-disposing One, whose wisdom is unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out.

197 “ But although it is, and we hope ever will be, far from us, either peevishly or presumptuously to kick against the irresistible decrees of Heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm designs of ours, to give an interruption to that overruling divine hand, which steers and guides, governs and determines the affairs of the whole world ; yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear country. And since it is our lot (we may say our unhappiness) to be embarked in a shipwrecked commonwealth, (which, like a poor weatherbeaten pinnace, has, for so long a time, been tossed upon the waves and billows of faction, split upon the rocks of violence, and is now almost quite devoured in the quicksands of ambition,) what can we do more worthy of Englishmen, as we are by nation, or of Christians, as we are by profession, than every one of us to put our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of our God that such weak instruments as we may be in any measure helpful to bring it at last into the safe and quiet harbour of justice and righteousness ?

108 “ To this undertaking, though too great for us, we are apt to think ourselves so much the more strongly engaged by how much the more we are sensible, that as our sins have been the greatest causes, so our many follies and imprudences have not been the least means of giving both birth and growth to those many miseries and calamities, which we, together with three once most flourishing kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

109 “ It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to your majesty, that we should recur to the beginnings, rise, and root of the late unhappy dif-

ferences betwixt your royal father and the parliament. In such a discourse as this, we may seem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the wounds bleed afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them: yet forasmuch as we do profess, that we come not with corrosives but with balsams, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar but oil into the wounds, we hope your majesty will give us leave to open them gently, that we may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past errors the more clearly.

110 “In what posture the affairs of these nations stood, before the noise of drums and trumpets disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst us, is not unknown to your majesty: that we were blest with a long peace, and, together with it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of peace, must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of those princes, your father and grandfather, by the propitious influence of whose care and wisdom we thus flourished. But, as it is observed in natural bodies, idleness and fulness of diet do for the most part lay the foundation of those maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases, which can hardly be expelled by the assistance of the most skilful physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the most dangerous experiments; so did we find it, by sad experience, to be in this great body politic. It cannot be denied but the whole commonwealth was faint, the whole nation sick, the whole body out of order, every member thereof feeble, and every part thereof languishing. And in this so general and universal a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsoundness in the head, cannot well be imagined. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs; but, in general, we may say, and we think it will gain the easy assent of all men, that there were many errors, many defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and eccentric proceedings, (some of which were in matters of the highest and greatest concernments,) manifestly appearing as blots and stains upon the otherwise good government of the late king. That these proceeded from the pravity of his own

disposition, or from principles of tyranny radicated and implanted in his own nature, we do not see how it can be asserted, without apparent injury to the truth ; it being confessed, even by his most peevish enemies, that he was a gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect intellectuals, so of the best and purest morals, of any prince that ever swayed the English sceptre. This the then parliament being sensible of, and desirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their sovereign, to disperse and dispel those black clouds that were contracted about him, that he might shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own lustre, thought themselves engaged in duty to endeavour to redeem and rescue him from the violent and strong impulses of his evil counsellors ; who did captivate him at their pleasures to their own corrupt lusts, and did every day thrust him into actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the common good and safety of the people.

111 “ Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, were we at first invited to take up arms ; and though we have too great cause to conclude from what we have since seen acted, that, under those plausible and gilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were secretly managed the hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious persons, (whom though then, and for a long time after, concealed, Providence, and the series of things, have since discovered to us,) yet we bless God, that we went out in the simplicity of our souls, aiming at nothing more but what was publicly owned in the face of the sun ; and that we were so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off our allegiance to his majesty, or extirpating his family, that we had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of any of his just prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses of government for the future, which were nothing but the excrescences of a wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burdens than ornaments of his royal diadem.

112 “ These things, sir, we are bold to make recital of to your majesty ; not that we suppose your majesty to be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive the pedigree of our own and the nation’s misfortunes ; but, like poor wildered travellers, perceiving that we have lost our way, we are necessitated, though with tired and irksome steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, that we may discover where it

was that we first turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous course in the progress of our journey. Thus far we can say we have gone right, keeping the road of honesty and sincerity, and having as yet done nothing but what we think we are able to justify, not by those weak and beggarly arguments, drawn either from success, which is the same to the just and to the unjust, or from the silence and satisfaction of a becalmed conscience, which is more often the effect of blindness than virtue, but from the sure, safe, sound, and unerring maxims of law, justice, reason, and righteousness.

- 113 “ In all the rest of our motions ever since to this very day, we must confess we have been wandering, deviating, and roving up and down, this way and that way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrodden paths of fanatic and enthusiastic notions, till now at last, but too late, we find ourselves intricated and involved in so many windings, labyrinths, and meanders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clue of thread handed to us from heaven can be sufficient to extricate us and restore us. We know not, we know not, whether we have juster matter of shame or sorrow administered to us, when we take a reflex view of our past actions, and consider into the commission of what crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard of villainies, we have been led, cheated, cozened, and betrayed, by that grand impostor, that loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that *opprobrium* of mankind, that landscape of iniquity, that sink of sin, and that compendium of baseness, who now calls himself our protector. What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either hellish policy was able to contrive, or brutish power to execute? We have trampled underfoot all authorities; we have laid violent hands upon our own sovereign; we have ravished our parliaments; we have deflowered the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a yoke, an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of our own countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bulwarks of the people's safety; we have broken often-repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, protestations; we have betrayed our trusts; we have violated our faiths; we have lifted up our hands to heaven deceitfully; and that these our sins might want no aggravation to make them exceeding sinful, we have added hypocrisy to them all; and have not only, like

the audacious strumpet, wiped our mouths, and boasted *that we have done no evil*; but in the midst of all our abominations (such as are too bad to be named amongst the worst of heathens) we have not wanted impudence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified: let Jesus Christ be exalted: let his kingdom be advanced: let the gospel be propagated: let the saints be dignified: let righteousness be established: *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.*

- 114 “Will not the holy One of Israel visit? will not the righteous One punish? will not he, who is the true and faithful One, be avenged for such things as these? will he not, nay has he not already, come forth as a swift witness against us? has he not whet his sword? has he not bent his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has he not already begun to shoot his arrows at us? Who is so blind as not to see that the hand of the Almighty is upon us, and that his anger waxes hotter and hotter against us? How have our hopes been blasted! how have our expectations been disappointed! how have our ends been frustrated! All those pleasant gourds, under which we were sometimes solacing and caressing ourselves, how are they perished in a moment! how are they withered in a night! how are they vanished, and come to nothing! Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments. We have sown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have sown faction, and we have reaped confusion; we have sown folly, and we have reaped deceit: when we looked for liberty, behold slavery; when we expected righteousness, behold oppression; when we sought for justice, behold a cry, a great and a lamentable cry throughout the whole nation.

- 115 “Every man’s hand is upon his loins, every one complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and anguish and sorrow, and perplexity of spirit, has taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman in travail. Surely we may take up the lamentation of the prophet concerning this the land of our nativity. How does England sit solitary! how is she become as a widow! she, that was great amongst the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she now become tributary! She weepeth sore in the night; her tears are on her cheeks; amongst all her lovers she hath none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt treacherously with her,

they are become her enemies; she lifteth up her voice in the streets, she crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the places of chief concourse, she sitteth, and thus we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition: Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hands, they are wreathed, and come up upon my neck; he hath made my strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands, from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord hath trodden underfoot all my mighty men in the midst of me; he hath called an assembly to crush my young men; he hath trodden me as in a winepress; all that pass by clap their hands at me, they hiss and wag their heads at me, saying, Is this the nation that men call the perfection of beauty? the joy of the whole earth? All mine enemies have opened their mouths against me; they hiss and gnash their teeth; they say, We have swallowed her up; certainly this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we have seen it.

116 “How are our bowels troubled! how are our hearts saddened! how are our souls afflicted, whilst we hear the groans, whilst we see the desolation of our dear country! It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that Sion should lie any longer in the dust! But, alas! what shall we do for her in this day of her great calamity? We were sometimes wise to pull down, but we now want art to build; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have no skill to plant; we were strong to destroy, but we are weak to restore: whither shall we go for help? or to whom shall we address ourselves for relief? If we say, We will have recourse to parliaments, and they shall save us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds shaken with the wind. They cannot save themselves. If we turn to the army, and say, They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, it may be they will at last have pity upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of iron to bruise us, rather than a staff of strength to support us. If we go to him who had treacherously usurped, and does tyrannically exercise an unjust power over us, and say to him, Free us from this yoke, for it oppresses us, and from these burdens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our fathers ever were, able to bear; be-

hold, in the pride and haughtiness of his spirit, he answers us, You are factious, you are factious ; if your burdens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier ; if I have hitherto chastised you with whips, I will henceforward chastise you with scorpions.

117 “ Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find no rest ; we look this way and that way, but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last we begun to whisper, and but to whisper only, among ourselves, saying one to another, Why should we not return to our first husband ? Surely it will be better with us then than it is now. At the first starting of this question amongst us, many doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspicions did arise within us. We were conscious to ourselves that we had dealt unkindly with him, that we had treacherously forsaken him, that we had defiled ourselves with other lovers, and that our filthiness was still upon our skirts : therefore were we apt to conclude, if we do return unto him, how can he receive us ? or if he does receive us, how can he love us ? how can he pardon the injuries we have done unto him ? how can he forget the unkindness we have shewn unto him in the day of his distress ?

118 “ We must confess (for we come not to deceive your majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cowardly apprehensions did for a while make some strong impressions upon us, and had almost frightened us out of our newly conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they vanished, and gave place to the more noble and heroic considerations of common good, public safety, the honour, peace, welfare, and prosperity of these nations ; all which we are persuaded, and do find, though by too late experience, are as inseparably and as naturally bound up in your majesty, as heat in fire, or light in the sun. Contemning therefore and disdaining the mean and low thoughts of our own private safety, (which we have no cause to despair of, having to deal with so good and so gracious a prince,) we durst not allow of any longer debate about matters of personal concernment ; but did think ourselves engaged in duty, honour, and conscience, to make this our humble address unto your majesty, and to leave ourselves at the feet of your mercy : yet, lest we should seem to be altogether negligent of that first good, though since dishonoured cause, which God has so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the security of

those, who together with ourselves being carried away with the delusive and hypocritical pretences of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concurrence with those actions which may render them justly obnoxious to your majesty's indignation, we have presumed in all humility to offer unto your majesty these few propositions hereunto annexed; to which if your majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, we do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, before whose tribunal we know we must one day appear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto us, for the restoring and reestablishing your majesty in the throne of your father; and that we will never be wanting in a ready and willing compliance to your majesty's commands to approve ourselves

“ Your majesty's most humble, most faithful,

“ and most devoted subjects and servants,

“ *W. Howard.*

John Wildman.

Ralph Jennings.

John Aumigeu.

Edw. Penkruan.

Randolph Hedworth.

John Hedworth.

Thomas

John Sturghion.

Rich. Reynolds.

119 “ The earnest desires of the subscribers, in all humility presented to your majesty in these following proposals, in order to an happy, speedy, and well grounded peace in these your majesty's dominions :

1. “ Forasmuch as the parliament, called and convened by the authority of his late majesty your royal father, in the year 1640, was never legally dissolved, but did continue their sitting until the year 1648, at which time the army, violently and treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever since given a continued interruption to their session, by taking away the whole house of lords, and secluding the greatest part of the house of commons, it is therefore humbly desired that (to the end we may be established upon the ancient basis and foundation of law) your majesty would be pleased, by public proclamations, as soon as it shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those persons, as well lords as commons, who were then sitting, to return to their places; and that your majesty would own

them (so convened and met together) to be the true and lawful parliament of England.

2. "That your majesty would concur with the parliament in the ratification and confirmation of all those things granted and agreed unto by the late king your father, at the last and fatal treaty in the Isle of Wight; as also in the making and repealing of all such laws, acts, and statutes, as by the parliament shall be judged expedient and necessary to be made and repealed, for the better securing of the just and natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the obviating and preventing all dangerous and destructive excesses of government for the future.

3. "Forasmuch as it cannot be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his death and resurrection, has purchased the liberties of his own people, and is thereby become their sole Lord and King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedience in things spiritual; we do therefore humbly beseech your majesty, that you would engage your royal word never to erect, nor suffer to be erected, any such tyrannical, popish, and Antichristian hierarchy, (episcopal, presbyterian, or by what name soever it be called,) as shall assume a power over, or impose a yoke upon, the consciences of others; but that every one of your majesty's subjects may hereafter be left at liberty to worship God in such a way, form, and manner, as shall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ, revealed in his word, according to that proportion or measure of faith and knowledge which they have received.

4. "Forasmuch as the exaction of tithes is a burden under which the whole nation groans in general, and the people of God in particular, we would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to your majesty's consideration, that, if it be possible, some other way may be found out for the maintenance of that which is called the national ministry; and that those of the separated and congregated churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and still are) be compelled to contribute thereunto.

5. "Forasmuch as in these times of license, confusion, and disorder, many honest, godly, and religious persons, by the crafty devices and cunning pretences of wicked men, have been ignorantly and blindly led, either into the commission of, or compliance with, many vile, illegal, and abominable actions,

whereof they are now ashamed ; we do therefore most humbly implore your majesty, that an act of amnesty and oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging all your majesty's long deceived and deluded subjects from the guilt and imputation of all crimes, treasons, and offences whatsoever, committed or done by them, or any of them, either against your majesty's father or yourself, since the beginning of these unhappy wars, excepting only such who do adhere to that ugly tyrant who calls himself protector, or who, in justification of his or any other interest, shall, after the publication of this act of grace, continue and persevere in their disloyalty to your majesty."

120 The gentleman who brought this address and these wild propositions, brought likewise with him a particular letter to the king from the gentleman that is before described ; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him ; who, though he was an anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions ; and told this gentleman, that though the first address could not be prepared but with those demands which might satisfy the whole party, and comprehend all that was desired by any of them, yet if the king gave them such an encouragement as might dispose them to send some of the wisest of them to attend his majesty, he would be able, upon conference with them, to make them his instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate desires, when they should discern that they might have more protection and security from the king than from any other power that would assume the government. The letter was as followeth :

121 " May it please your majesty,

" Time, the great discoverer of all things, has at last unmasked the disguised designs of this mysterious age, and made that obvious to the dull sense of fools, which was before

visible enough to the quicksighted prudence of wise men, viz. that liberty, religion, and reformation, the wonted engines of politicians, are but deceitful baits, by which the easily deluded multitude are tempted to a greedy pursuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of these fools, I must confess myself to have been one; who have nothing more now to boast of, but only that, as I was not the first was cheated, so I was not the last was undeceived; having long since, by peeping a little (now and then, as I had opportunity) under the vizard of the impostor, got such glimpses, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly face, concealed under the painted pretences of sanctity, as made me conclude that the series of affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would convince this blinded generation of their errors; and make them affrightedly to start from him, as a prodigious piece of deformity, whom they adored and revered as the beautiful image of a deity.

122 "Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who glories in no attribute more than to be acknowledged the searcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the bold affronts of this audacious hypocrite; but, to the astonishment and confusion of all his idolatrous worshippers, has, by the unsearchable wisdom of his deeplaid counsels, lighted such a candle into the dark dungeon of his soul, that there is none so blind who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny, perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypocrisy, and all manner of villainy, written in large characters on his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who dares open his mouth in justification of him, for fear of incurring the deserved character of being a professed advocate for all wickedness, and a sworn enemy to all virtue.

123 "This was no sooner brought forth, but presently I conceived hopes of being able in a short time to put in practice those thoughts of loyalty to your majesty, which had long had entertainment in my breast, but till now were forced to seek concealment under a seeming conformity to the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to these designs was happily administered by the following occasion:

124 "Great was the rage, and just the indignation of the people, when they first found the authority of their parliament swallowed up in the new name of a protector; greater was their fury, and upon better grounds, when they observed, that under the

silent, modest, and flattering title of this protector, was secretly assumed a power more absolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was pretended to by any king. The pulpits straight-ways sound with declamations, the streets are filled with pasquils and libels, every one expresses a detestation of this innovation by public invectives, and all the nation with one accord seems at once to be inspired with one and the same resolution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that liberty, by arms and force, which was treacherously stolen from them by deceit and fraud.

125 "When they had for a while exercised themselves in tumultuary discourses, (the first effects of popular discontents,) at length they begin to contrive by what means to free themselves from the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto, several of the chiefest of the malecontents enter into consultations amongst themselves; to which they were pleased to invite and admit me. Being taken into their councils, and made privy to their debates, I thought it my work to acquaint myself fully with the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and principles of them; which (though all meeting and concentrating in an irreconcilable hatred and animosity against the usurper) I find so various in their ends, and so contrary in the means conducing to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the distinction of different parties. Some, drunk with enthusiasms, and besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a share in government besides the saints; and these are called Christian royalists, or fifth-monarchy-men. Others violently opposing this, as destructive to the liberty of the free-born people, strongly contend to have the nation governed by a continual succession of parliaments, consisting of equal representatives; and these style themselves commonwealth's-men. A third party there is, who finding by the observation of these times that parliaments are better physic than food, seem to incline most to monarchy, if laid under such restrictions as might free the people from the fear of tyranny; and these are contented to suffer under the opprobrious name of levellers: to these did I particularly apply myself; and after some few days' conference with them in private by themselves apart, I was so happy in my endeavours as to prevail with some of them to lay aside those vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather upon passion than judgment, and return, as their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your

majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief of them, whom I knew to be leaders of the rest, as could safely be intrusted with a business of this nature, (the success whereof does principally depend upon the secret management of it,) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to confirm and establish them as well as I could, in their infant allegiance, by engaging them so far in an humble address unto your majesty, that they might not know how to make either a safe or honourable retreat.

126 “I must leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to make answer to any such objections as may perhaps be made by your majesty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I would put your majesty in mind of, that they are but young proselytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, lest, being urged at first too violently, they should resist the more refractorily.

127 “As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say they are either of great families or great estates. But this I am confident of, that whether it be by their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times, I will not determine, they are such who may be more serviceable to your majesty in this conjuncture, than those whose names swell much bigger than theirs with the addition of great titles. I durst not undertake to persuade your majesty to any thing, being ignorant by what maxims your counsels are governed; but this I shall crave leave to say, that I have often observed that a desperate game at chess has been recovered after the loss of the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and that the subscribers may not be of the same use to your majesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, especially at such a time as this, when there is scarce any thing but pawns left upon the board, and those few others that are left may justly be complained of in the words of Tacitus, *præsentia et tuta, quam vetera et periculosa, malunt omnes*.

128 “I have many things more to offer unto your majesty, but fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I shall defer the mention of them at present; intending, as soon as I hear how your majesty resents this overture, to wait upon your majesty in person, and then to communicate that *viva voce* which I cannot bring within the narrow compass of an address of this nature. In the mean time, if our services shall be judged useful to your

majesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy course may be taken for the advance of two thousand pound, as well for the answering the expectation of those whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of several other necessary expenses, which do and will every day inevitably come upon us in the prosecution of our design.

129 “What more is expedient to be done by your majesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may be, brought over to the assistance of your majesty’s cause and interest, I shall commit to the care of this honourable person; who being no stranger to the complexion and constitution of those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under the strongest obligations to your majesty’s service.

130 “For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your majesty a small essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to, your majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of your majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

“May it please your majesty, &c.”

131 The king believed [that] these distempers might in some conjuncture be of use to him; and therefore returned the general answer that is mentioned before; and that he would be willing to confer with some persons of that party, trusted by the rest, if they would come over to him; his majesty being then at Bruges. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, and yet an anabaptist. He had been bred in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards in the inns of court; but being too young to have known the religion or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning against the king, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a sol-

dier in Cromwell's life-guard of horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a republic. But when that mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever, and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party, and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the king could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst them. He returned [into England] very well satisfied with the king, and did afterward correspond very faithfully with his professions, but left the king without any hope of other benefit from that party than by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell; for it was manifest they expected a good sum of present money from the king, which could not be in his power to supply.

132 [While these things were transacting,] the king found every day that the Spaniards so much despaired of his cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England, and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it; and thereupon he resolved that he would not, in a country that was so great a scene of war, live unactive and unconcerned; and so he sent to don Juan, that he would accompany him in the field the next campaign, without expecting any ceremony, or putting him to any trouble. But [the Spaniards] sent him a formal message, and employed the earl of Bristol to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said that they could not answer it to his catholic majesty, if they should permit his majesty, when his two brothers were already

in the army, and known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise to engage his own royal person; which they positively protested against. And when they afterwards saw that it was not in their power to restrain him from adventures whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and that under pretence of visiting the duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon that fort, his majesty having notice what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the marquis of Ormond, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him; they were willing his majesty should remove to Brussels, which they would never before consent to, and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so in the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, burgomaster, who being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the king, and being a man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his majesty, which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Brussels, and never after returned to Bruges.

- ¹³³ [His majesty] was no sooner come thither, but don Alonzo renewed his advices and importunity that he would make a conjunction with the levellers; and to that purpose prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him; which his majesty willingly consented to, presuming that [Sexby] might be privy to the address that had been made to him by the same party; which he was not, though the other [they that sent the address] well knew of his employment

to the Spaniard, and had no mind to trust him to the king, at least not so soon. The man, [for] an illiterate person, spake very well and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a common soldier of Cromwell's troop, and afterwards was one of those agitators who were made use of to control the parliament; and had so great an interest in Cromwell, that he was frequently his bedfellow; a familiarity he frequently admitted those to, whom he employed in any great trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse as in those hours. He was very perfect in the history of Cromwell's dissimulations, and would describe his artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the army, and wonderfully undervalue the credit and interest of the king's party; and made such demands to the king, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which don Alonzo concurred so totally, that when he saw that the king would not be advised by him, he sent his friend Sexby into Spain, to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the king. And there need not be any other character or description of the stupidity of that [Spaniard,] than that such a fellow, with the help of an Irish priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his master of ten thousand pistoles; for he received not less than that in Flanders, whatever else he got by his journey to Madrid; which did not use to be of small expense to the Spaniard.

- 134 Nothing that was [yet] to come could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning men, that the first design the French army would undertake, when they should begin their campaign, must be the siege of Dunkirk; without taking which, Mardike would do them little good: besides, their contract with Cromwell was

no secret; yet they [the Spaniards] totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being persuaded by some intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the French would begin the campaign with besieging Cambray. In the beginning of [the year,] the marquis de Leyde, governor of Dunkirk, and the best officer they had in all respects, came to Brussels, having sent several expresses thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them that his intelligence was infallible, that marshal Turenne was ready to march, and that the [French] king himself would be in the field to countenance the siege of Dunkirk, which he could not defend, if he were not supplied with men, ammunition, and victual; of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply; they telling him that he would not be besieged, that they were sure the French meant to attempt Cambray, which they provided the best they could, and bad him be confident, that if he were attacked they would relieve him with their army, and fight a battle before he should be in danger. And being able to procure no other answer, he returned, and came to take his leave of the king as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his majesty of their counsels, and deluding themselves with false intelligence. He said he was going to defend a town without men, without ammunition, and without victual, against a very strong and triumphant army; that if he could have obtained supplies in any reasonable degree, he should have been able to have entertained them some time; but in the condition he was in, he could only lose his life there; which he was resolved to do: and he spake as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

135 Within three or four days after his return, the French army appeared before it [Dunkirk;] and then the Spa-

niard believed it, and made what haste they could to draw their army together, which was very much dispersed, so that before they were upon their march the French had perfected their circumvallation, and rendered it impossible to put any succours into the town. So that they now found it necessary indeed to hazard a battle, which they had promised to do when they intended nothing less. When they [the Spaniards] had taken a full view of the posture the enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground, upon which they would be found, don Juan, and the marquis of Carracena, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the army should be ranged; which the prince of Condé dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the marshal Turenne would do in that case, and that he would still maintain the siege, and give them likewise battle upon the advantage of the ground; whereas if they would place their army near another part of the line, they should easily have communication with the town, and compel the French to fight with more equal hazards.

- 136 It might very reasonably be said of the prince of Condé and marshal Turenne, what a good Roman historian said heretofore of Jugurtha and Marius; that *in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis fecere*; they had in the same armies learned that discipline, and those stratagems, which they afterwards practised against each other in enemy armies; and it was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe, in attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the prince of Condé, when the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter their formal lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, "If we do not make great haste to possess such a pass," (which they never thought of,) "marshal Turenne will take it, though it be much farther from him;" and would then, when they considered not what he said, ad-

vance with his own troops and possess the place, even when the French were come in view ; and by such seasonable foresights saved the Spanish army from many distresses. And marshal Turenne had the same caution, and governed himself as the prince of Condé was in the rear [or] van of the army ; and upon the matter only considered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly ; of which there was a very memorable instance two years before, when the Spanish army had besieged Arras, and when the duke of York was present with marshal Turenne. The Spaniards had made themselves so very strong, that when the French army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to fight, and that the town must be lost if they did not force the line. Marshal Turenne, accompanied with the duke of York, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal officers, spent two or three days in viewing the line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, riding so near the line very frequently, that some of his company were killed within much less than musket shot. In the end he called some of the principal officers, and said he would that day at noon assault the line, at a place which he shewed to them ; which the officers wondered at ; and said it was the strongest part of the line ; and that they had observed to him, that the whole line on the other side was very much weaker : to which the marshal replied, “ You do not know who keeps that line ; we shall do no good there ; monsieur le prince never sleeps, and that is his post ; but I will tell you what will fall out on the other side ;” for he had himself marched in the Spanish army, and very well understood the customs of it. He told them then, that it would be very long before the soldiers upon the line or the adjacent guard would believe that they [the French] were in earnest, and that they would in truth at that time of the day assault them ; but would think that they meant only to

give them an alarm; which they were never warm in receiving: that when they [the Spaniards] were convinced that they [the French] were in earnest, in which time [he] should be got near their line, they would send to the count of Fuensaldagna, who was then asleep, and his servants would not be persuaded to waken him in a moment. He would then send for his horse, and ride up to the line; which when he saw, he would with some haste repair to the archduke's tent, who was likewise at his siesto, and when he was awaked they would consult what was to be done; by which time, [the marshal] said, they should have done: and they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the prisoners that every thing had fallen out as the marshal foretold. And so the siege was raised, the Spaniards fled without making any resistance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the prince [of Condé] was in so good order upon the first alarm, that when he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of safety.

- 137 Notwithstanding the advice which the prince of Condé had given, don Juan was positive in his first resolution. And the prince, not without great indignation, consented, and drew up his troops in the place they desired; and quickly [saw] all come to pass that he had foretold. The country was most enclosed, so that the horse could not fight but in small bodies. The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and after a reasonable resistance broke and routed them; after which there was not much resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. [Our] king's foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the enclosures, there not being above

two hundred taken prisoners. The dukes of York and Gloucester charged several times on horseback ; and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English, (though they were glad to see them behave themselves so well,) and with great difficulty, and some blows of muskets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army that the duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the [French] officers and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to the body of English, and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed ; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard or danger, have enlarged him ; so great an affection that nation owned to have for his highness.

138 The day being thus lost with a greater rout and confusion than loss of men, don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, who behaved themselves in their own persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the prince of Condé's advice, by which they preserved the best part of the army, and retired to Ypres and Furnes, and the duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the rest when Dunkirk should be taken ; which was the present business of marshal Turenne ; who found the marquis de Leyde resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the [Spanish] army was retired into fastness. The marquis de Leyde, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from don Juan, which whilst he expected he was wary in the hazard of his men, [was now] resolved to try what he could do for himself; and so, with as strong a party as he could make, he made a desperate sally upon the enemy, [who,] though he disordered [them, were] quickly so seconded that they drove him back into the

town with great loss, after himself had received his death's wound, which followed within three days after. And then the officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The marquis was a much greater loss than the town, which the master of the field will be always master of in two months' time at most. But in truth [the death of] the marquis was an irreparable damage, being a very wise man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the church, to which he was most devoted.

139 Those in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the relics of the army. And the king of France, being by this time come to the camp with the cardinal, entered the town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it. And so the treaty was performed between them; and the king went presently to Calais, and from thence sent the duke of Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the cardinal, to London, to visit Cromwell; who likewise sent his son-[in-law,] the lord Falconbridge, to Calais, to congratulate with the king for their joint prosperity. And so the mutual professions were renewed between them, with new obligations never to make peace without each other's consent.

140 When don Juan [had first] removed from Brussels, and the army marched into the field, the king [had] renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same passion he had been before. [His majesty] thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in Brussels, whilst all the world was in action, but thought of some more private place, where he might take the summer air, and refresh himself during that season. And he was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk, and the

loss of that place. And so he removed to a village called Hochstraten, where there were very good houses, capable to have received a greater train than belonged to his court. Thither the king went about the month of August, the village lying upon the skirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or six miles of Breda, and sometimes he made journeys, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

- 141 There a man might have observed the great difference of the condition which the subjects in the States' dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their neighbours of the Spanish territories are acquainted with. Hochstraten is an open village belonging to the count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleasantly seated, many very good houses, and the extent of the manor large, and of a great revenue. But by reason that it is always a horse-quarter in the winter season, who use great license, it is so poor that those good houses have only walls; so that the people had not furniture to supply those rooms which were for [the] accommodation of those who attended the king, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any stock, and in a word, nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a line that is drawn, (for a man may set one foot in the dominion that is reserved to the king of Spain, and the other in that which is assigned to the Hollander,) the houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat, and well furnished within; very good linen, and some plate in every house; the people fat, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the grounds and land fully stocked with

all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goshen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompassed by wonderful barrenness and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland side, that lies equally open and undefended, can see the Spanish troops exercise all license upon their poor neighbours of Hochstraten; and yet the most dissolute amongst them dare not step into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the least trespass: so strictly the articles of the peace are observed.

142 Whilst the king spent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the duke of York, who remained still with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as don Juan and the rest remained about Fernes and Bruges, sent an express to the king to let him know that the letters from England, and some passengers, reported confidently that Cromwell was dead; [which] there having been no news of his sickness was not at first easy to be believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his majesty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Brussels, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage which in that conjuncture, upon so wonderful an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

143 It had been observed in England, that though from the dissolution of the last parliament all things seemed to succeed at home and abroad to his wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet Cromwell never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to after he had refused the crown, but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself, and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be. Insomuch as he was not so easy of access, nor so much seen abroad, and seemed to be in some disorder when his eyes found any stranger in

the room, upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known till he was in the coach which way he would go; and [he] was still hemmed in by his guards before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be with his servants, who were armed; and he never returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

144 It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him by those who he [believed] wished the king no good. And when he had discovered the design of Syndercome, who was a very stout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and [had] caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more associates, who were undiscovered, and as resolute as himself; and though he [had] got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment; which made Cromwell believe that a party in the army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge that he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, and three or four of the guard always with him day and night. And at the day [appointed] for his execution, those troops [Cromwell] was most confident of were [placed] upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when the guard called

[Syndercome] to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell; for besides that he hoped at his death, that, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice: nor could he suppress that scandal. Though it did appear upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him; and whilst they spake together at the bedside, he rubbed his nose with his hand, of which they then took no notice; and she going away, he put off his clothes and leaped into his bed, with some snuffling in his nose, and said, this was the last bed he should ever go into; and seemed to turn to sleep, and never in the whole night made the least noise or motion, save that he sneezed once. When the physicians and surgeons opened his head, they found he had snuffed up through his nostrils some very well prepared poison, that in an instant curdled all the blood in that region, which presently suffocated him. The man was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have hanged, and buried under it, with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murderers: yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he [himself] was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

145 He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the earl of Warwick, with whom he had a fast friendship, though neither their humours or their natures were like. And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time, so that all his relation to or confidence in that family was at an end, the other branches of it abhorring

his alliance. His domestic delights were lessened every day; and he plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which [chiefly] broke his peace was the death of his daughter Claypole, who had been always his greatest joy, and who had in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. And though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude that she had presented his worst actions to his consideration. And though he never made the least show of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain that either what she said or her death affected him wonderfully.

146 Whatever it was, about the middle of August he was seized on by a common tertian ague, from which he believed a little ease and divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much abated; so that he returned again to Whitehall; when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared, as from God, that he should recover; and he himself did not think he should die, till even the time that his spirits failed him; and then he declared to them that he did appoint his son to succeed him, his eldest son Richard; and so expired upon the third day of September, (a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had [twice] triumphed for several victories,) 1658; a day very memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses,

and made great wrecks at sea; and [the tempest] was so universal, that the [effects of it were terrible] both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for besides the wrecks all along the coast, many boats [were] cast away in the very rivers; and within few days after, [the] circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was known.

- 147 He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*; [whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time:] for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage and industry and judgment. And he must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in the applying them, who from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest of estate, alliance or friendships, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence that contributed to his designs and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What Velleius Paterculus said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*: [he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded.] Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

¹⁴⁸ When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to reconcile the affections of the standers by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be renewed, as if he had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency through the want of custom.

¹⁴⁹ After he was confirmed and invested protector by *The humble petition and advice*, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor to them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority, but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

¹⁵⁰ When he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part, and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, as an imposition notoriously against the law and the propriety of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend. Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of the old kindness and friendship that had been between them, and that of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth. But it was always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him, and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own in cases of the like nature; so this man remembered him how great an enemy he had expressed

himself to such grievances, and declared that all who submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who imposed them, and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous but by the tameness and stupidity of the people. When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him that he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master. And thereupon, with some terms of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he brought his habeas corpus in the king's bench, which they then called the upper bench. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, but enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the protector's attorney required a farther day to answer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that license; and when they with all humility mentioned the law and magna charta, Cromwell told them, their magna charta should not control his actions, which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth. He asked them who made them judges; [whether] they had any authority to sit there but what he gave them; and that if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them; and so dismissed them with caution, that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear.

151 Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster-hall as obedient and subservient to his commands as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, and rarely interposed between party and party. And as he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and dared to contend with his greatness, so towards those who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used a wonderful civility, generosity, and bounty.

152 To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. And as they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there need only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the pope and the neighbour princes of Italy to call and solicit for their extirpation, which their prince positively resolved upon, Cromwell sent his agent to the duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English [Roman] catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and that the sound of his cannon should

be heard in Rome,) that the duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

153 The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the [reformed] religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of the election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, they were there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, and to be sure that the election should be fairly made. The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good

a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, and that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the religion in other places of the province; but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon their presumption of their great numbers, which were little inferior to those of the catholics. The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

¹⁵⁴ Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent with all possible submission to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage; but they could say nothing upon the subject till the king's pleasure should be known; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed. The other very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins a Scotchman, who had lived many years in that place and in Montpelier, to Cromwell, to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after

he had received the whole account, bade him refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris he should find it despatched; and that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march towards Nismes; and within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder that his memory remains still in those parts and with those people in great veneration.

155 He never suffered himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging that the people would not be otherwise satisfied; which he [the cardinal] bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal told her that he knew not how to behave himself; if he advised the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened [him] to join with the Spaniard; and if he shewed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic.

156 He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavel's method, which prescribes, upon any alteration of a government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old [one.] And it was confidently reported, that in the council of officers it was more than once proposed that there might be a

general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government; but Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too much contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he had all the wickednesses against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XVI.

¹ **C**ONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monk in Scotland would never submit to that subordination. Besides the expectation the king had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in [it,] and of command in the army, who professed to prepare for such a conjuncture [as this;] and that the disorders arising from [Cromwell's death] might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best title, seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died with more silence, nor with less alteration; [and there was] the same or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.

² The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his son was proclaimed his lawful successor; the army congratulate their new general, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his service than they were for his father[’s;] and most counties in England, by their ad-

dressess under their hands, testified their obedience to their new sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such: and his son inherits all his greatness and all his glory, without that public hate that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences to him, and desired to renew their alliances, and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new protector, so that the king's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable conjuncture [his friends] could never expect than this, that had blasted all their hopes, and confirmed their utmost despair.

3 And it is probable that this melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his council thought it necessary that he should call a parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last alliance which Oliver had made, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, with the crown of Sweden, did oblige him in the spring to send a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that king against Denmark; at least to oblige Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. And this could hardly be done without some assistance by parliament; and therefore [the new protector] sent out his writs to call a parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of January, till which day, for the full space of four months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him, and sent out his writs to call those as peers who had constituted the other house in the former parliament; and so both lords and commons met at the day assigned.

4 Richard came to his parliament in the same state that Oliver his father had used to do; and sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to the commons, that they should attend him in the other house; where, first by himself, and then by [the] keeper of his seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, he recommended to them the prosecution of the war with Spain, and the assistance of the king of Sweden in the Sound. And he had so good fortune at the entrance, that all the commons signed an engagement not to alter the present government. But they were no sooner enclosed within those walls, [than] there appeared the old republican spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It began to inquire into the accounts, how the money had been spent, [and] into the offices of excise and customs, and what was become of all that [revenue.] When they were called upon to settle the act of recognition, to confirm [Richard] and his authority in the state, they would first inform themselves of their own authority, and how far the government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the other house; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the government already established, which they had promised not to alter. And upon this argument they exercised themselves with great license, as well upon the creator of those peers, [and] the power of the late protector, as upon his creatures the peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were in. They put [the house] in mind, how grievous it had been to the kingdom, that the bishops had sat in the house of peers, because they were looked upon as so many votes for the king; which was a reason much stronger against these men; who were all the work of the protector's own hands, and therefore could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his interest. They concluded, that they could not, with good consciences,

and without the guilt of perjury, ever consent that that house should have any part in the government, since they had all taken the engagement that there should be no more any house of peers, and that the office of the protector had been and might still continue without it.

5 Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the house that they would meet and confer with the other house, as a part of the parliament during this present parliament; and likewise that such other persons, who had a right to come to that other house, and had not forfeited it by their breach of trust, (by which they meant those lords who had been always against the king,) should not be restrained from coming thither: yet the temper of the house [of commons] could hardly be judged by all this. Some things were done which looked like condescension to the royal party, but more for the countenance of the presbyterians, and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a republic was looked upon as favourable to the protector.

6 The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army. A new council of officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to sit with them: they neither liked protector nor parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an address to him; in which they complained of the great arrears of pay that [were] due to the army, by which they were in great straits: that they, who had borne the brunt of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid

aside: that the good old cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by malignants and disaffected persons, who grew every day more insolent, and their numbers increased by the resort out of Flanders and other places, and that they had several secret meetings in the city of London: that the names of all those who had sat upon the late king as his judges were lately printed in red letters, and scattered abroad, as if they were designed to destruction; and that many suits were commenced at common law against honest men for what they had transacted in the war as soldiers: that those famous acts which had been performed in the long parliament, and by the late protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified. By all which, they said, it was very manifest that the good old cause was declined, which they were resolved to assert. And therefore they besought his highness to present those things to the parliament, and to require proper and speedy remedies.

7 And this address was delivered from the army by Fleetwood to Richard, [on] April 6th, 1659; which was no sooner known, [than] Tichburn and Ireton, two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewise another remonstrance, which they sent to the council of officers; in which they declared their resolutions with the army to stick to the good old cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for the nation's good.

8 The parliament was quickly alarumed with these cabals of the army and the city, which Richard was as much terrified with as they. And in order to the suppression thereof, the parliament voted that there should be no meeting or general council of officers without the protector's consent, and by his order; and that no person should have command by sea or land, in either of the three nations, who did not immediately subscribe that

he would not disturb the free meeting of parliament, or of any members in either house of parliament, or obstruct their freedom in debates and counsels. These votes, or to this effect, were sent to Richard, and by him presently to Wallingford-house, where the council of officers then sat.

9 These [officers] were men who resolved to execute as well as order, and knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these votes, but they sent Fleetwood and Desborough (the one had married his sister, the other was his uncle, both raised by Cromwell) to Richard, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. They were two upon whose affection, in regard of the nearness of their alliance, and [their] obligation [to] and dependence upon his father, he had as much reason to be confident, as of any men's in the nation. Fleetwood used no arguments but of conscience, to prevent the nation's being engaged in blood; which would inevitably fall out, if the parliament were not presently dissolved. Desborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him it was impossible for him to keep both the parliament and the army his friends; wished him to choose which he would: if he dissolved the parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall.

10 The poor man had not spirit enough to discern what was best for him, and yet he was not without friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive counsel. Besides many members of the parliament, of courage and interest, who repaired to him with assurance that the parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the ringleaders of this seditious crew, if he would adhere to it; on the other hand, if he were prevailed upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a friend; and they

who had compelled him to do so imprudent an action would condemn him when he had done it; some officers of the army [likewise,] of equal courage and interest with most of the rest, persuaded him to reject the desire of those who called themselves the council of the army, and to think of punishing their presumption. Ingoldsby, Whaley, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and the two former men of signal courage, offered to stand by him; and one of them offered to kill Lambert, (whom they looked upon as the author of this conspiracy,) if he would give him a warrant to that purpose.

- 11 Richard continued irresolute, now and then inclined one way, and then another way. But in the end, Desborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fiennes, his keeper of his seal, to dissolve the parliament the next morning; of which the parliament having notice, they resolved not to go up. So that when Fiennes sent for them to the other house, the commons shut the door of [their] house, and would not suffer the gentleman usher of the black rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the 25th of April, imagining that they should by that time convert the protector from destroying himself. But the poor creature was so hared by the council of officers, that he presently caused a proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute nobody resorted to him, nor was the name of the protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the council of officers appointing guards to attend at Westminster, which kept [out] those members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the house upon the day appointed. And thus the extreme pusillanimity of the son suffered himself to be stripped

in one moment of all the greatness and power which the father had acquired in so many years with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

- 12 When the council of officers had with this strange success, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a superior, or, as the phrase then was, removed the *single person*, knowing that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove Ingoldsby, Whaley, Goffe, and those other officers, who had dissuaded Richard to submit to their advice, from having any command in the army; which they therefore did; and replaced Lambert, and all the rest who had been cashiered by Cromwell, into their own charges again; so that the army was become republican to [their] wish; and that the government might return to be purely such, they published a declaration upon the sixth of May, wherein (after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cause, and excusing themselves for having been instrumental in declining from it, from whence all the ills the commonwealth had sustained had proceeded, and the vindication whereof they were resolved to pursue for the future) they remembered that the long parliament, consisting of those members who had continued to sit till the twentieth of April 1653, (which was the day that Cromwell, with the assistance of these very officers, had pulled them out of the house, and dismissed them,) had been eminent assertors of that cause, and had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work, the desires of many good people concurring with them, they did, by that declaration, according to their duty, invite those members to return to the discharge of their trust, as they had done before that day; and that they should be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost assistance, that they

might sit, and consult in safety, for the settling and securing the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, for which they had now so good an opportunity.

- ¹³ This [restoring the rump parliament] was the only way in which they could all agree, though it was not suitable to what most of them desired: and they well foresaw that they might give an opportunity to more people to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving members of that parliament would pretend a title to sit there: and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648 to April 1653, but caused a guard likewise to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the house. And when Lenthal, the old speaker, with forty or fifty of those old members specified in the declaration, took their places in the house, and some of the old excluded members likewise got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters proposed, the house was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such persons who well knew all the members, to inform the guards who were and who were not to go into the house. And by this means only that cabal was suffered to enter which had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into these men's hands again seemed to all men to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the king by the roots; and it did for the present make so deep an impression in the hearts of many, that when an overture was at this time made from Spain to make the duke of York admiral of his galleys, which the king for many reasons suspended giving his consent unto, the chief servants about his royal highness were so transported with the proposition, that they were very much troubled that their master made not all the

haste that was possible to be possessed of the charge; and endeavoured all they could to persuade the duke, that they who prevailed with the king not to give his consent were his enemies, and would not have him to be [in] a condition in which he might be able to live like a prince. And when in discourse they were desired to consider that if the duke went into Spain he could not be permitted to enter into that charge, what title soever he might have given to him, unless he changed his religion and became catholic, and what the consequence of that might be in England, they were so far from being moved with the argument, and in that despair of ever seeing England, that they thought the religion of it not worth the insisting on.

14 We must, for the better observation and distinction of the several changes in the government, call this congregation of men, who were now repossessed of the government, by the style they called themselves, *the parliament*, how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate and establish their own authority, which they could not think to be firm whilst there was still a protector or the name of a protector in being, and residing in Whitehall. They appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have hope that they would be his good masters, first to inquire into the state of his debts, and then to demand of him whether he acquiesced in the present government. He, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish, gave the committee a paper, in which, he said, was contained the state of his debts, and how contracted; which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

15 And to the other question his answer was likewise in writing; that he trusted his carriage and behaviour had manifested his acquiescence in the will and good pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the peace of the

commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as should bear the same witness, he having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the particular engagement that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a change in the government of the nations, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it, being made; and did hold himself obliged, as with other men he might expect protection from the present government, so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had interest should do the same.

16 This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had in his exercise of that government, by the jolliness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with them. But as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow and four other commissioners.

17 It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story that related to this miserable Richard, though [it happened] long afterwards, because there will not be again any occasion

so much as to mention him during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the king's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the king, who thought it not necessary to inquire after a man who had been so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, [and] indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition in disguise, and not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either party; and so pitched upon Geneva; and made his way thither by Bourdeaux, and through the province of Languedoc: he passed through Pezenas, a very pleasant town belonging to the prince of Conti, who hath a fair palace there, and, being then governor of Languedoc, made his residence there.

- 18 In this place Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, that all strangers who came to that town used to wait upon the prince of Conti, the governor of the province; who expected it, and always treated all strangers, and particularly all the English, with much civility; that he need not be known, but that he [himself] would first go to the prince and inform him, that another English gentleman was passing through that town towards Italy, who would be glad to have the honour to kiss his hands. The prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words,

began to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the king, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered shortly according to the truth. "Well," said the prince, "Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb, *coquin*, *poltron*, was surely the basest fellow alive. What is become of that fool? how was it possible he could be such a sot?" He answered, "that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his father;" and being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the king's restoration.

19 Monk from Scotland presented his obedience to them [the parliament,] and the assurance of the fidelity of the army under his command to all their determinations. The navy congratulated their return to the sovereign power, and tendered their submission. The ambassadors who were in the town quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them as their good allies, they making all their professions to them which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard. And they continued Lockhart as their ambassador in France, as a man who could best cajole the cardinal, and knew well the bowels of that court. They sent ambassadors to the Sound, to mediate a peace between those two crowns, being resolved to decline all occasions of expense abroad, that they might the better settle their government at home. And to that purpose they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, without parting with any thing that

had been taken from it, which would not consist with their honour. And that they might thoroughly unite their friends of the army to them, they passed an act of indemnity to pardon all their former transgressions and tergiversations, which had been the cause of their former dissolution, and of all the mischiefs which had followed.

20 And now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and the government as well settled, to the general content of the people, who testified the same by their general acclamations, and likewise by particular addresses. And that they might be sure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a general, which might again introduce a single person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make it impossible, they appointed the speaker to execute the office of general, in such manner as they should direct, and that all commissions should be granted by him, and sealed with their own seal, all the seals used by Cromwell being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the speaker was admiral as well as general) delivered up their commissions, and took new in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their empire could be shaken.

21 But these men had not sat long in their old places, [when] they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches and the contempt they underwent from all kind of people; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the king's party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in power and authority. And though the smart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them, that they might with less control exercise their tyranny over the poor broken cavaliers. So they made a present order, to banish all who had ever manifested

any affection to the king or his father twenty miles from London, and revived all those orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had abolished or forborne to execute, by which many persons were committed to prisons for offences which they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another classis to apprehensions of what they might be made liable to. The soldiers were very merry at their new general, and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next adventure, and the officers thought they had deserved more than an act of indemnity for restoring them to such a sovereignty. In a word, as they remembered how they had been used, so all other people remembered how they had used them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

²² This universal temper raised the spirits again of the king's friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the parliament, and been afterwards disobliged by Cromwell, very desirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the king's establishment. Those members of the long parliament, who after the treaty of the Isle of Wight were by violence kept from the house, took it in great indignation, that they upon whom the same violence was practised afterwards which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them, being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourses of the soldiers, who declared, that if there were any commotion in the kingdom, they would go no farther to suppress it than Mr. Lenthal should lead them.

²³ Mr. Mordaunt, who had so lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man, and was so well

trusted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in most quarters of the kingdoms, that if the king would assign them a day, and promise to come to them after they were embodied, they would not fail to appear at the day. Whereupon, he ventured himself to come in disguise to the king to Brussels, to give him a clear account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in those upon whose persons the king most relied, to encourage other men, and [to desire] that his majesty [would,] by him, require them to concur with the rest. It appeared, by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England where there was not a formal undertaking by the most powerful men of that country to possess themselves of some considerable place in that county; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the king to venture his own person than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the government to be settled in it.

- 24 That which was best digested, and in respect of the undertakers most like to succeed, [was,] first the surprisal and possessing of Lynne, a maritime town, of great importance in respect of the situation, and likewise of the good affection of all the gentlemen of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the lord Willoughby of Parham, with the consent and approbation of sir Horatio Townsend, who, being a gentleman of the greatest interest and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to possess it. The former had served the parliament, and was in great credit with the presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of [the] war, and so liable to no reproach or

jealousy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow money, which he laid out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the king's friends in those parts were ready to obey those persons in whatsoever they undertook.

25 Another design, which was looked upon as ripe too, was the surprisal of Gloucester, a town very advantageously situated upon the river of Severn, [that] would have great influence upon Bristol and Worcester; both which, persons of the best interest undertook to secure as soon as Gloucester should be possessed; which major general Massey, who had been formerly governor thereof, and defended it too well against the king, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and [lain] concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he sent the king an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garrison in either of the places.

26 The lord Newport, Littleton, and the gentlemen of Shropshire, were ready at the same time to secure Shrewsbury, and for the making that communication perfect, sir George Booth, a person of the best fortune and interest in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. And sir Thomas Middleton, who had likewise served the parliament, and was a man of the best fortune and interest in North Wales, was ready to join with sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the king's party in those parts. In the west, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, and the rest of Cornwall and Devonshire, hoped to possess Plymouth, but were sure of Exeter. Other undertakings there were in the north, by men very ready to venture all they had.

27 When the king received this account in gross from a person well instructed, and whereof he had by retail received much from the persons concerned, (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present government, that messengers went forward and backward with all security,) and likewise found by Mr. Mordaunt, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, that, though any discovery should be made, and any persons imprisoned, the rest should proceed as soon as the day should be appointed by the king, his majesty resolved that he would adventure his own person, and would be ready *incognito* at Calais upon such a day of the month; and that his brother the duke of York should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

28 There was in this conjuncture a very unhappy accident, which did do much harm, and might have done much more. From the death of Oliver, they who were in the secretest part of [his] affairs discerned evidently that their new protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the king that might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of secrecy, [Mr. Moreland,] sent an express to the king, to inform him of many particulars of moment, and to give him some advices what his majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his service to his majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to

know; and, as an instance of his fidelity and his usefulness, he advertised his majesty of a person who was much trusted by him and constantly betrayed him, that he received a large pension from Cromwell, and that he constantly gave Thurlow intelligence of all that he knew, but that it was with so great circumspection, that he was never seen in his presence: that in his contract he had promised to make such discoveries as should prevent any danger to the state, but that he would never endanger any man's life, nor be produced to give in evidence against any; and that this very person had discovered the marquis of Ormond's being in London the last year to Cromwell, but could not be induced to discover where his lodging was; only undertook his journey should be ineffectual, and that he should quickly return; and then they might take him if they could; to which he would not contribute. To conclude, his majesty was desired to trust this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

- 29 The king, and they who were most trusted by him in his secret transactions, believed not this information; but concluded that it was contrived to amuse him, and to distract all his affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accused [was sir Richard Willis, who] had from the beginning to the end of the war given testimony of his duty and allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptation of infidelity. He was a gentleman, was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that if the king had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his friends would have thought he had received ill infusions without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the marquis of

Ormond, who had communicated more with him than with any man in England during his being there. On the other side, all the other information and advice that was sent was very important, and could have no end but his majesty's service; and the offices which the gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that consequence that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting money; for the present condition of him who sent it was so good, that he expected no reward till the king should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the errand was likewise a gentleman who did not look for the charges of his journey: and how could it have been known [to Cromwell] that that person had been trusted by the marquis of Ormond if he had not discovered it himself?

³⁰ In this perplexity, his majesty would not [presently] depart from his confidence in [the] gentleman [accused.] As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a case; only frankly declared, that nothing could convince him of the infidelity of that gentleman, or make him withdraw his trust from him, but the evidence of his handwriting; which was well known. This messenger no sooner returned to London, but another was despatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great number of his letters were sent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of such things as were known to very few besides that person himself.

³¹ One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he never communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the king's

party, and had been always so reputed: but what was undertaken by any of the presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the king, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of Massey's design upon Gloucester, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the king's party, it was only of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy or treachery in the king's councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the person of the king.

32 It was a new perplexity to the king that he knew not by what means to communicate this treason to his friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his majesty of that service which must be of that huge moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. Mordaunt came to Brussels, and informed his majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that somewhat might be sent to that knot of men, (whereof the accused person was one,) who, he said, were looked upon as principally trusted by his majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary and incredulous, that others were much discouraged by their coldness; and therefore wished that they might be quickened, and required to concur with the most forward. Hereupon the king asked him what he thought of such a one, naming the person. Mr. Mordaunt answered, it was of him they complained principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the wariness in the rest, who looked upon him not only as an excellent officer, but as a prudent and discreet man; and therefore, for the most part, all debates were referred to him; and he

was so much given to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most men had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him. The king asked him whether he had any suspicion of his want of honesty. The other answered, that he was so far from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his friend, by reason of the many disputes and contradictions frequently between them, he would put his life into his hand to-morrow.

33 It was not thought reasonable that Mr. Mordaunt should return into England with a confidence in this man, and therefore his majesty freely told all he knew but the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and charged him no farther to communicate with that person, and to give his friends such caution as might not give a greater disturbance to his affairs, by raising new factions amongst them, or provoke him to do more mischief, which [it] was in his power to do. But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordaunt returned to London, the person who gave the king the advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused papers to be posted up in several places, by which all persons were warned not to look upon such a man (who was named) as faithful to the king, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy men still continued their intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

34 It was towards the end of June that Mr. Mordaunt left Brussels, with a resolution that there should be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the king, upon a day named, about the middle of July, there being commissions in every

county directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces who had a superior commission from the king. And those commissioners had in their hands plenty of commissions under the king's hand, for regiments and governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best model (how liable soever to exception) that in so distracted a state of affairs could be devised.

35 The king, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at Calais; which resolution was kept with [so] great secrecy at Brussels, that, towards the time, his majesty had left the town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France as in England. Therefore, as the king went out in the morning, so the duke of York went out in the afternoon, another way, his highness's motion being without any suspicion or notice by reason of his command in the army. The king went attended by the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Bristol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both sides,) and two or three servants, all *incognito*, and as companions; and [so] they found their way to Calais, where they stayed. The duke of York, with four or five of his own menial servants, and the lord Langdale, who desired to attend his highness, went to Boulogne; where he remained with equal privacy; and [they] corresponded with each other.

36 The affairs in England had no prosperous aspect; every post brought news of many persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons throughout the kingdom before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual weather at that season of the year, being the

middle of July. The night before, [there] had [been] an excessive rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high wind, that the winter had seldom so great a storm: so that the persons who over England were drawing to their appointed rendezvous were infinitely dismayed, and met with many cross accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there.

37 In the beginning of the night, when Massey was going for Gloucester, a troop of the army beset the house where he was, and took him prisoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous night had so much of good fortune in it [to him,] that, in the darkest part of it, the troop marching down a very steep hill, with woods on both sides, he, either by his activity or the connivance of the soldier who was upon the same horse with him, found means, that in the steepest of the descent they both fell from the horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and, being strong and nimble, got into the woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

38 Of all the enterprises for the seizing upon strong places only one succeeded, which was that undertaken by sir George Booth; all the rest failed. The lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Horace Townsend, and most of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as men able to do hurt. Only sir George Booth, being a person of the best quality and fortune of that county of those who had never been of the king's party, came into Chester, with such persons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the night and the next morning had

the same effect as in other places to break or disorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet [sir George] being himself there with a good troop of horse that he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into Chester, where his party was strong enough: and sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their devotion, and to suppress all [there] who had inclination to oppose them.

39 Then they published their declaration, rather against those who called themselves the parliament, and usurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the king's interests; and desiring well affected men of all conditions, especially the city of London, to join with them, in order to the calling a free parliament, for settling the government of the nation in church and state, to the determinations whereof they would willingly submit, and lay down their arms, with those expressions which they knew would be most acceptable to the presbyterians; but giving all countenance and reception, and all imaginable assurance to the king's party, who had all direction from the king to concur and to unite themselves to them.

40 What disappointments soever there were in other places, the fame of this action of these two gentlemen raised the spirits of all men. And they who were at liberty renewed their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places of refuge prepared themselves to march to Chester, if sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been observed. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of persons imprisoned, upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension

that he had begun the work too soon ; and though his numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

- 41 This fire was kindled in a place which the parliament least suspected, and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it, and knew it would spread far if it were not quickly quenched ; and they had now too soon use of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather trust than Lambert, but there was none they thought could do their business so well ; so they made choice of him to march with such troops as he liked, and with the greatest expedition, to suppress this new rebellion, which they saw had many friends. They had formerly sent for two regiments out of Ireland, which they knew more devoted to the republican interest, and those they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his credit with the soldiers, who had loved to be under his command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself brave upon any action. He cared to take nothing with him that might hinder his march, which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haste ; so that sir George Booth found he was [within] less than a day's march before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir George himself had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour ; yet all were desirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle,) and instead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended against a much greater army than Lambert had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they

marched to meet him, and were after a short encounter routed by him, and totally broken; so that the next day the gates of Chester were opened to him; sir George Booth himself making his flight in a disguise, but was taken upon the way, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

42 Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a strong castle of his own; and he thought neither the man nor the place were to be left behind him. But it was to no purpose for one man to oppose a whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making show of resistance, he made such conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his goodly house, for the strength of the situation, to be pulled down.

43 And this success put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to take all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all prisons in England were filled; whilst the parliament, exalted with their conquest, consulted what persons they would execute, and how they should confiscate the rest; by means thereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all seeds of future insurrections on the behalf of the king, most of the nobility being at present in custody. And they resolved, if other evidence was wanting, that their suspicion should be their conviction.

44 When the king came to Calais, where he received account[s] every day from England [of] what was transacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the imprisonment of his friends, so he was revived with the fame of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. And they were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of troops in Lincoln-

[shire] and Yorkshire stood fair; whereupon the king resolved to go himself to some other part of France, from whence he might securely transport himself into those parts of England, from whence with least hazard he might join himself with the troops which were in arms for him, and so went to the coast of Brittany.

45 The duke of York remained at Boulogne, to expect some appearance of arms in Kent and Essex, which was still promised, as soon as the army should be drawn farther from London. And in this expectation his royal highness found an opportunity to confer with his old friend marshal Turenne, who very frankly assigned him some troops, and likewise provided vessels to transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterprise; and this with so much generosity and secrecy, that the cardinal should have had no notice of the preparation till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst [his highness] was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the king, after his visiting St. Maloes, was at Rochelle, in hope to find a conveniencé for his transportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of sir George Booth, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the parliament; which seemed [now] to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations as ever Cromwell had been.

46 Struck with this dismal relation, they had nothing to do but to make what haste they could back to Brussels, and were obliged to use more than ordinary caution to get themselves out of France again, where they could not be found with safety. The duke of York, being much nearer, came thither first, and shortly after the king returned, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his condition, [resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a

journey himself to the borders of Spain, to solicit more powerful supplies; the two chief ministers of the two crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his majesty preferred] any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at Brussels, and the dry looks of the Spaniards [there]; who were broken into so many factions amongst themselves, that the government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the marquis of Carracena and don Alonzo had such an influence upon the counsels at Madrid, that don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the marquis of Carracena; which he [don Juan] very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a pass to go through France, he left those provinces, and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a person of a small stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, [both] natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a Spanish breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and music, he was capable of any great employment, and would have discharged it well.

47 At this time an accident happened, that, as it was new, administered new hopes to raise the king's spirits, and for men to exercise their thoughts [on] with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two crowns of France and Spain for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of right and justice, to comply (besides the natural animosity which will always be between the two nations) with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the crowns, who would try the mastery of their wit and invention, at the charge of their

masters' treasure, and the blood of their subjects, against all the obligations of leagues and alliances ; a war prosecuted only for war's sake, with all the circumstances of fire, sword, and rapine, to the consumption of millions of treasure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honest men, only to improve the skill and mystery and science of destruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and a sister against each other, (for half the time had been spent in the regency of the queen of France,) when they both loved, and tendered each other's good and happiness, as the best brother and sister ought to do.

48 It was high time to put an end and to kill this barbarous cruel war, which the queen [mother] had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young king being of years ripe to marry, and the infanta of Spain being in that and all other respects the most competent match for him, which would be the best, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her majesty resolved to employ all her interest and authority to bring it to pass ; and knowing well all her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the cardinal, she proposed it with all the warmth and all the concernment such a subject required to him ; conjuring him, by all the good offices she had performed towards him, that he would not only consent to it, but take it to heart, and to put it into such a way of negotiation, that it might arrive at such an issue as she desired.

49 The cardinal used all the arguments he could to dissuade her majesty from desiring it at this time ; that he was not able to bear the reproach, (nor could it be for her majesty's service,) of being the instrument of making a peace, at a time [when] Spain was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer resist the victorious arms

of France; that they could not fail the next summer of being possessed of Brussels itself, and then they should not be long without the rest [of the Spanish Netherlands;] and therefore at this time to propose a peace, which must disappoint them of so sure a conquest, would not only be very ingrateful to the army, but incense all good Frenchmen against him and against her majesty herself.

50 The queen was not diverted from her purpose by those arguments, but proposed it to the king, and prosecuted it with the cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irrecoverable [irreconcilable] breach with her [majesty;] which his gratitude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon he yielded; and don Antonio Pimentel from Madrid, and monsieur de Lyonne from France, so negociated this [last] winter in both courts, both *incognito*, making several journeys backward and forward, and with that effect, that by the end of the winter it was published, [that] there would be a treaty between the two crowns, and that in the beginning of the summer [of this year 1659,] the two favourites, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace and for the marriage. And the marshal de Grammont was sent from the king to demand the infanta, who, when he came to Alcovendas, a place within two leagues of Madrid, left his train there, and rode as by post only, with a valet de chambre, and alighted at the palace, and went presently up to the king to demand the infanta; and so returned to Alcovendas, and afterwards made his entry as ambassador.

51 The cardinal was the sooner induced to this peace by the unsettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the succession of Richard, under the advice of the same persons who were trusted

by the father, pleased him well. But the throwing him out with such circumstances broke all his measures. And he could not forget that the parliament that now governed were the very same men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Spanish side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards France, taken the French fleet, when it could not but relieve Dunkirk; by which that town was delivered up to the Spaniard. He knew well that Spain did at that instant use all the underhand means they could to make a peace with them; and he did not believe that the parliament would affect the continuance of that war at so vast a charge both at sea and land; but that they would rather foment the divisions in France, and unite the prince of Condé and the Hugonots, which would make a concussion in that kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put Dunkirk into the hands of the English. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him to believe, over and above the benefit of gratifying the queen, that he should best provide for the security of France and of himself by making a peace with Spain.

52 However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promises he had formerly made to Oliver again to Lockhart, (who was the ambassador now of the republic,) that he would never make a peace without the consent and inclusion of England; and very earnestly desired him, and writ [to that purpose] to the parliament, that he might be at the treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joint interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating unto him, in broken and half sentences, that though the treaty was necessary to satisfy the queen, there were so many difficulties in view, that he had little hope of a peace: and in truth, many sober men did not

believe the treaty would ever produce a peace: for besides the great advantages which France had gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the French which they had then in their hands by conquest, (the usual effect of peace being a restitution of all places taken in the war; which France would never permit,) there were two particulars which men could find no expedients to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by de Lyonne and Pimentel, were entirely reserved for the treaty [of] the two favourites; both sides having with great obstinacy protested against deporting [departing] from the resolution they had taken.

53 The two particulars were [those concerning] Portugal and the prince of Condé. There could not be greater engagements than France had made to Portugal never to desert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that king should quietly enjoy his government to him and his posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by France.

54 On the other hand, the prince of Condé had the king of Spain's word and obligation, by the most solemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their honours, offices, and estates, but with some farther recompense for the great service he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed that the cardinal would ever consent to the restoration of that prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to

the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites should meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spanish dominions, and very near the borders of France, the same place where Francis the First was delivered after his long imprisonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview, a little river [near] that place parting both the kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it brought the [two] favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his master's dominions.

- 55 The fame of this treaty yielded variety and new matter to the king to consider of. Both crowns had made the contention and war that was between them the only ground and reason why they did not give him that assistance which in a case so nearly relating to themselves he might well expect, and both had made many professions, that when it should please God to release them from that war, they would manifest to the world that they took the king's case to be their own; so that his majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect that he would have some ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an ambassador, that his majesty resolved to find himself present in that treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a letter from sir Harry Bennet; by which he was informed, that he speaking with don Lewis about his journey to Fuentarabia, and asking him whether he would give him leave to wait on him thither, don Lewis answered, that he should do well to be present; and then asked him why the king himself would not be there; and two or three days after, he told him, that if the king, with a very light train, came *incognito* thither,

for the place could not permit them to receive him in state, after the great difficulties in the treaty were over, he would do all he could to induce the cardinal to concur in what might be of convenience to his majesty. He [the king] had before resolved to have a very little train with him, suitable to the treasure he had to defray his expenses, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to France, through which he was necessarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a pass, yet to ask one and be refused would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the nature and kindness of the cardinal than from the sincerity of don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that a more dependence upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

- 56 To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his majesty writ to the queen his mother, to desire her, as of herself, to desire the cardinal's advice, whether it would not be fit for the king to be present at the treaty; that she might send his majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought well of it, she might then propose [such] passes as should seem reasonable to her. Her majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the question of the cardinal, who, at the very motion, told her very warmly that it was by no means fit, and that it would do the king much harm; and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the queen to let the king know that he should rely upon him to take care of what concerned him; which he would not fail to do, as soon as he discerned that the treaty would produce a peace. Her majesty acquiesced with [this] profession, and sent the king

word how kind the cardinal was to him, but would by no means that his majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself; nor did the queen imagine that the king would ever think of it without a pass and the cardinal's approbation.

- 57 When his majesty had received this account from his mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a pass. Nor would he depart from his former resolution; but concealed his purpose; and when he was fully advertised that the favourites were met, and computed that they were well entered upon their treaty, in the very entrance into which they concluded a cessation of arms, so that all was quiet in Flanders in the month of July, the king, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Bristol, [Daniel O'Neile,] and two or three other servants, (though sir Harry Bennet had informed his majesty that don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired that he would not bring that earl with him; and who, in respect of his language, the king believed would be very convenient,) left Brussels *incognito*, being in truth not known there to be gone till many days after. Since he had now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered, and therefore was not to go by Paris, or any of those roads where he had been heretofore known, he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his compass see those parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure and divertisement that such a journey would admit [of.] And to that purpose he appointed the earl of Bristol to be the guide, who knew most of France, at least more than any body else did, and who always delighted to go out of the way, and Daniel O'Neile to take care that they always fared well in their lodging, for which province no man was fitter. And thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedoc, and were so well pleased

with the varieties in the journey that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progress in the treaty from the intelligence they met in the way.

58 When they came near Toulouse, they found that the French court was there, which they were obliged to decline. However the king, going himself a nearer way, sent the marquis of Ormond thither, to inform himself of the true state of the treaty, and to meet his majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The marquis went alone without a servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to Toulouse, he was informed from the common discourse of the court that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

59 It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible: both parties equally desired the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The cardinal, who had much the advantage over don Lewis in all the faculties which are necessary for a treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the arts imaginable to induce don Lewis to yield both in the point of Portugal and what related to the prince of Condé and his party. He enlarged upon the desperate estate in which Flanders was, and that they could possess themselves entirely of it in one campaign; and therefore it might easily be concluded, that nothing but the queen's absolute authority could in such a conjuncture have disposed the king to a treaty; and he hoped that she should not be so ill requited as to be obliged to break the treaty, or to oblige the king her son to consent to what was indispensably against his honour: that if he should recede from the interest of Portugal, no prince or state would hereafter enter into alliance with him. that

though they were bound to insist to have Portugal included in the peace, yet he would be contented that a long truce might be made, and all acts of hostility forborne for a good number of years, which, [he said,] was necessary for Spain, that they might recover the fatigue of the long war they had sustained before they entered into a new [one:] if they would not consent to that, [then] that Portugal should be left out of the peace, and Spain at liberty to prosecute the war, and France at the same [time] to assist Portugal, which, he said, in respect of the distance, they should never be able to administer in such a proportion as would be able to preserve it from their conquest; not without insinuation, that so they might not renounce the promise they had made, they would not be over solicitous to perform it. As to the prince of Condé, that the catholic king was now to look upon France as the dominion of his son in law, and to be inherited by his grandson, and therefore he would consider what peril it might bring to both, if the prince of Condé were restored to his greatness in that kingdom, who could only disturb the peace of it, and whose ambition was so restless, that they could no longer enjoy peace than whilst he was not in a condition to interrupt it. He [the cardinal] told him in confidence of several indignities offered by the prince of Condé to the person of the queen, of which her brother ought to be very sensible, and which would absolve him from any engagement he had entered into with that prince; which he would never have done, if his majesty had been fully informed of those rude transgressions. And therefore he besought don Lewis that the joy and triumph which the king and the queen would be possessed of by this peace and marriage might not be clouded, and even rendered disconsolate, by their being bound to behold a man in their presence who had so often, and with so much damage and disdain, affronted them both; but that the

peace of France might be secured by that prince's being for ever restrained from living in it; which being provided for, whatsoever his catholic majesty should require in ready money or pensions, to enable the prince to live in his just splendour abroad, should be consented to.

- 60 Don Lewis de Haro was a man of a great temper, of a sallow complexion, hypochondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to say; and what he wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness, and though he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occasion to repent. He had a good judgment and understanding, and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the cardinal, that he knew well that his master's affairs needed a peace with France, and that the accomplishing this marriage was the only way to attain to it; that the marriage, being the best and the most honourable in Christendom, ought to be equally desired on both sides; that his catholic majesty was sensible of his own age and the infirmities which attended it, and desired nothing more than that before his death he might see this peace and this marriage finished and made perfect; and that he was well content to purchase the former at any price but of his honour, which was the only thing he preferred even before peace: that for Portugal, the groundless rebellion [there] was so well known to all the world, that he should not go to his grave in peace if he should do any thing which might look like a countenance or concession to that title, that was only founded upon treason and rebellion, or if he should omit the doing any thing that might, with God's blessing, of which he could not doubt, reduce that kingdom to their duty and his obedience: that his resolution was, as soon as this peace should be concluded, to apply all the force and all the treasure of

his dominions to the invasion of Portugal, which, he hoped, would be sufficient speedily to subdue it; which was a great part of the fruit which he promised himself from this peace, and therefore would never permit any thing to be included in it that might leave France at liberty to assist that war: that the [catholic] king had done all he could, both by don Antonio de Pimentel and monsieur de Lyonne, that his most Christian majesty might know his unalterable resolution in the point of Portugal, and with reference to the prince of Condé, before the treaty was consented to; and that he would never depart from what he had declared in either: that he had made a treaty with the prince of Condé, by which he had engaged himself never to desert his interest, nor to make a peace without providing for his full restitution and reparation, and [of] those who had run his fortune and put themselves under his protection: that the prince had performed all that he had undertaken to do, and had rendered very great service to his catholic majesty, who would not only rather lose Flanders, but his crown likewise, than fail in any particular which he was bound to make good to the prince: and therefore he desired the cardinal to acquiesce in both these particulars, from which he should not recede in a tittle; in others, he should not have the same obstinacy.

- 61 When the cardinal found that all his art and eloquence were lost upon don Lewis's want of politeness, and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of those important particulars, he resolved they should pay otherwise for their idol honour and punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxembourg as Flanders, and all other provinces, by which they dismembered all the Spanish dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer neighbours to the Hollanders than the

other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the town [of] Juliers to the duke of Newburgh, without the payment of any money [for what] they had laid out upon the fortifications, and which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that town did belong of right to the duke of Newburgh, as part of the duchy of Juliers, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by Spain from being possessed by the Hollanders many years before, and by treaty to remain in their hands till they should receive satisfaction for all their disbursements. After which time they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that prince fast to all the Spanish interest in Germany; whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the duke of Newburgh to France, and so a new friend to strengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by stopping the resort of any German succours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French should purchase Juliers from the duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous post to facilitate their enterprises upon Liege or Cologne, or to disturb the Hollanders in Maestricht, or to seize upon Aquisgrane, an imperial town, and indeed to disturb the peace of Christendom.

62 For Portugal, it was agreed that there should not be any mention of it in the whole treaty, which the French ingenuity thought could never be called a renouncing it; though there were other expressions in the articles so binding, that they could not only not send them any relief or assistance, but that restrained them from sending any ambassador to them, or receiving one from them.

63 To the prince of Condé all things were yielded which

had been insisted on ; and full recompense made to such of his party as could not be restored to their offices ; as president Viole, and some others : yet don Lewis would not sign the treaty till he had sent an express to the prince of Condé to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the king of Spain caused a great sum of money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers who were to be disbanded ; a method France did not use at the same time to their proselytes, but left Catalonia to the king's chastisement, without any provision made for don Josepho de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of those disturbances ; and were left to eat the bread of France ; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

- 64 When all things were concluded, and the engrossments preparing, the cardinal came one morning into don Lewis's chamber with a sad countenance, and told him they had lost all their pains, and the peace could not be concluded. At which don Lewis in much disturbance asked what the matter was. The cardinal very composedly answered, that it must not be ; that they two were too good catholics to do any thing against the pope's infallibility, which would be called in question by this peace, since his holiness had declared that there would be no peace made ; as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his pontificate, laboured it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the cardinal, who had yet promised him, that when the season was ripe for it he should have the sole power to conclude it ; so that when he heard that the two favourites were to meet, of which he had no notice, he said in the consistory that he was sure that cardinal Mazarine would not make a peace.

Don Lewis was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the company made themselves merry at the pope's charge.

65 When the marquis of Ormond discovered, by the information he received at Toulouse, that the treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place that the king had appointed to meet at, that his majesty might lose no more time. But when he came thither, he found nobody; which he imputed to the usual delays in their journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the king. Sir Harry Bennet was in great perplexity, and complained very reasonably that the king neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. Don Lewis seemed troubled that the king had not come thither, whilst the cardinal and he were together. The treaty was now concluded; and though the cardinal remained still at his old quarters on the French side, under some indisposition of the gout, yet he and don Lewis were to meet no more. And don Lewis was the less troubled that the king had not come sooner, because he had found the cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the king, very cold and reserved; and had magnified the power of the parliament, and seemed to think his majesty's hopes desperate; and advised don Lewis to be wary how he embarked himself in an affair that had no foundation; and that it was rather time for all catholics to unite to the breaking the power and interest of the heretical party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the king, except he would become catholic. And it is believed by wise men, that in that treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the protestant interest; and that in a short time there would have been much done against [it] both

in France and Germany, if the measures they had taken had not been shortly broken.

66 During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayonne, and frequently consulted with the cardinal, and was by him brought twice or thrice to don Lewis, where they spake of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were settled between Spain and England. But the cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe that it would not be made, (as appeared by some of his letters from Bayonne, which fell into the king's hands,) and to the last he was persuaded that England should be comprehended in it in terms to its satisfaction.

67 The king, the next day after he had sent the marquis of Ormond to Toulouse, received information upon the way that the treaty was absolutely ended, and that don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his journey to Fuentarabia; and therefore was easily persuaded by the earl of Bristol to take the nearest way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as soon as they could; presuming that the marquis of Ormond would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his majesty. And with this resolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Saragossa, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertisement that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that don Lewis remained still at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved that the king and the earl of Bristol, who had still a mind to Madrid, should stay at Saragossa, [whilst] O'Neile should go to Fuentarabia, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

68 Don Lewis and the marquis of Ormond were in great

confusion with the apprehension that some ill accident had befallen the king, when Mr. O'Neile arrived, and informed them by what accident and misintelligence the king had resolved to go to Madrid, if he had not been better informed at Saragossa; where he now remained till he should receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the disturbance imaginable when he heard the relation, and concluded that this was a trick of the earl of Bristol's; that he held some intelligence with don Juan, and intended to carry the king to Madrid, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his privity. They were now to save and to borrow all the money they could to defray the expenses which must be shortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the infanta, and all this must be spent upon the [king of England's] entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a king *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now a young unmarried king must be received and caressed in that court; which would occasion much discourses both in Spain and France. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured from the marquis of Ormond and sir Harry Bennet; who assured him that all that was past was by mere mistake, and without any purpose to decline him, upon whose friendship alone the king absolutely depended; and undertook positively, that as soon as his majesty should be informed of his advice, that he would make all the haste thither he could, without thought of doing any thing else: which don Lewis desired might be effected as soon as was possible: so O'Neile returned to Saragossa, and his majesty without delay made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could use.

- 69 The king was received according to the Spanish mode and generosity, and treated with the same respect and

reverence that could be shewed to his catholic majesty himself, if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be said from the king, [his master;] how much he was troubled, that the condition of his affairs, and the necessity that was upon him to make shortly a long journey, would not permit him to invite his majesty to Madrid, and to treat him in that manner that was suitable to his grandeur: that having happily concluded the peace, he had now nothing so much in his thoughts, as how he might be able to give or procure such assistance as his majesty stood in need of; and that he should never be destitute of any thing that his power and interest could help him to. Don Lewis for himself made all those professions which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed that there was no provision made in the treaty that the two crowns would jointly assist his majesty, but that he believed the cardinal would be ready to perform all good offices towards him, and that, for his own particular, his majesty should receive good testimony of the profound veneration he had for him.

70 Don Lewis intimated a wish that his majesty could yet have some conference with the cardinal, who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the king sent the marquis of Ormond to visit him, and to let him know that his majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his counsel and advice. But the cardinal would by no means admit it; said it would administer unseasonable jealousy to the parliament, without any manner of benefit to the king. He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his affection to the king; desired he would have patience till the marriage should be over, which would be in the next spring; and till then their majesties must remain in those parts: but as soon as that should be despatched, the whole court would return to

Paris ; and that he would not be long there, before he gave the king some evidence of his kindness and respect. And other answer than this the marquis could not obtain.

71 After his majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at Fuentarabia, (for he knew well that don Lewis was to return to Madrid before the king [of Spain] could take any resolution to begin, or order his own journey, and that he stayed there only to entertain his majesty,) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to Flanders ; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the earl of Bristol, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the Spaniards, that don Lewis was willing to take him with him to Madrid, and that he should be received into the service of his catholic majesty in such a province as should be worthy of him. So that his majesty had a very small train to return with, the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three other servants.

72 Don Lewis, with a million of excuses that their expenses had been so great as had wasted all their money, presented his majesty with seven thousand gold pistoles, to defray, as he said, the expenses of his journey, with assurance, that when he came into Flanders he should find all necessary orders for his better accommodation, and carrying on his business. And so his majesty began his journey, and took Paris in his way to visit the queen his mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon [removing] all former mistakes : and towards the end of December he returned to Brussels in good health ;

where he found his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, impatiently expecting him.

73 The pleasure and variety of his journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from don Lewis, with the good disposition he had left the queen his mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the king's spirits, and the joy for his return dispersed the present clouds. But he had not been long at Brussels, before he discerned the same melancholy and despair in the countenances of most men which he had left there; and though there had some changes happened in England, which might reasonably encourage men to look for greater, men had been so often disappointed in those expectations, that it was a reproach to any man to think that any good could come from thence.

74 It was a great blessing of God that this melancholic conjuncture happened in the winter, that men could not execute all the thoughts and purposes the unhappy state of affairs suggested to them. The king could not make his journey through Germany till the spring, and in the mean time many men thought of providing a religion as well as other conveniences for their journey, and that might be grateful to those people and places where and with whom they were like to reside. The protestant religion was found to be very unagreeable to their fortune, and very many exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the king's own steadiness, which was very manifest, men would have been more out of countenance to have owned the faith they were of; and many made little doubt but that it would shortly be very manifest to the king that his restoration depended wholly upon a conjunction of catholic princes, who could never be united but on the behalf of catholic religion.

75 The best the king could [now] look for seemed to be

a permission to remain in Flanders, with a narrow assignation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a king ; nor could that be depended upon ; for there were secret approaches made both from England and Spain towards a peace ; and the Spaniard had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended conquest of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his majesty's quiet might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the dukes of York and Gloucester could no longer remain in an unactive course of life ; and the duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the king. And therefore, when the marquis de Carracena at this time brought the duke of York a letter from the king of Spain, that he would make him *el admirante del oceano*, his highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their master who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told that it was not such a preferment that the duke should so greedily embrace it before he knew what conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it ; that the command had been in a younger son of the duke of Savoy, and at another time in a younger son of a duke of Florence, who both grew quickly weary of it ; for whatever title they had, the whole command was in the Spanish officers who were under them ; and that if the duke were there, he might possibly have a competent pension to live on shore, but would never be suffered to go to sea under any title of command till he first changed his religion ; all which had no signification with them ; but they prevailed with his royal highness to return his consent and acceptation of the office by the same courier who brought the letter.

76 The marquis Carracena likewise told the king that he had received orders to put all things in a readiness for his expedition into England, towards which he would add three thousand men to those troops which his majesty already had. At the same time the lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague came to the king from Paris, with many compliments from the cardinal, that when there should be a peace between the two northern kings, (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) France would declare avowedly for the king; but in the mean time they could only assist the king underhand; and to that purpose they had appointed three thousand men to be ready on the borders of France, to be transported out of Flanders, and thirty thousand pistoles to be disposed of by the king to advance that expedition. Sir Harry Bennet had sent from Madrid a copy of the Spanish orders to the marquis Carracena; by which he was not (as he told the king) to add three thousand men to the king's troops, but to make those which [his majesty] had to amount to the number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the king must be obliged to embark them in France. So that the men the cardinal would provide must be embarked in Flanders, and they who were to be supplied by Spain must be embarked in France. So that by these two specious pretences and proffers the king could only discern that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his majesty could make any use before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass that they might new form their counsels. And the lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague had so little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion that the duke of York should embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain, to which they made no doubt the queen would give her consent.

77 And in this state of despair the king's condition was concluded to be at the end of March 1660; and though

his majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in England, yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the king thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious act of providence, as [God] hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation since he led his own chosen people through the Red sea.

78 After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the king's hopes so totally destroyed, the parliament thought of nothing but transporting those families into the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and other plantations, which might hereafter produce children of their fathers' affections, and by degrees to model their army that it might never give them more trouble. They had sent Lambert a thousand pound[s] to buy him a jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it amongst the officers, who might well deserve it of him. And this bounty of his was quickly known to the parliament, which concluded that he intended to make a party in the army that should more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour, and that it was by his advice that they were first dissolved, and that he in truth had made Cromwell protector, upon his promise that he should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. And therefore they resolved to secure him from doing farther harm as soon as he should come to the town.

79 Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march, (as if all were not safe,) and to seize upon the persons of delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners,

and then to disband their army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what his portion must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which was signed by the inferior officers of his army; in which they desired the parliament that they might be governed, as all armies used to be, by a general, who might be amongst them, and other officers, according to their qualities, subordinate to him. The address was entitled, *The humble petition and proposals of the army, under the command of the lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.*

so They made a large recapitulation of the many services they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and that now lately they had preserved them from an enemy, which, if they had been suffered to grow, would in a short time have overrun the kingdom, and engaged the nation in a new bloody war, to which too many men were still inclined; and concluded [with a desire] that they would commit the army to Fleetwood, as general, and that they would appoint Lambert to be major general. Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying part of the army, and a man whom the parliament would have trusted if they had not resolved to have no general, being as confident of his fidelity to them as of any man; and Lambert knew well he could govern him as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in like manner lay him aside. This petition was sent by some trusty person to some colonels of the army in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented to the parliament. He would first consult with some of his friends for their advice; and so it came to the notice of Haslerig, who immediately informed the parliament of a rebellion growing in the army, which, if not suppressed, would undo all that they had done.

They, as they were always apt to take alarums of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answered, he had it not, but that he had delivered it to such an officer, whom he named. The officer was sent for, but could not be found. Whereupon the parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any address of that kind, passed a vote, that the having more general officers was a thing needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth.

81 This put the whole army into that distemper that Lambert could wish it [in,] and brought the council of officers to meet again more avowedly than they had done since the reviving of the parliament. They prepared a petition and representation to the parliament, in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of their fidelity towards them, but yet that they would so far take care for their own preservation that they would not be at the mercy of their enemies, and implied that they had likewise privileges which they would not quit.

82 The parliament, that was governed by Vane and Haslerig, (the heads of the republic party, though of very different natures and understandings,) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one side must be suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of subsistence from the army, if they should be inclined by force to make any alteration in the government. And in order thereunto they declared that it should be treason in any person whatsoever to raise, levy, and collect money, without consent in parliament. Then they made void all acts for custom and excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the army, except they would prey upon the people, which could not hold long. In the next place they cashiered Lambert, and eight other colonels of the army,

with whom they were most offended, and conferred the regiments upon other persons, in whom they could confide, and committed the whole government of the army into the hands of seven commissioners, who were, Fleetwood, (whom they believed to have a great interest in the army, and so durst not totally to disoblige,) Ludlow, (who commanded the army in Ireland,) Monk, (who was their general in Scotland,) Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton; who were all upon the place.

83 The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done of the parliament to provoke so many of them without being sure of a competent strength to execute their orders. But they had a great presumption upon the city, and had already forgotten how the army baffled it a dozen year[s] before, when the parliament had much more reputation and the army less terror. The nine cashiered colonels were resolved not to part with their commands, nor would the soldiers submit to their new officers; and both officers and soldiers consulted their affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at Westminster the next morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

84 The parliament, to encounter this design, sent their orders to those regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at Westminster, to defend them from force, and likewise sent into the city to draw down their militia. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot and four troops of horse, who were well armed, and ranged themselves in the Palace-yard, with a resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the parliament. Lambert intended they should have little to do there; and divided [his party in] the army to the several places by which the city militia could come to Westminster, with order that they should suffer none to march that way, or to come out of the gates; then placed himself with a troop or

two in King-street, to expect when the speaker would come to the house, who at his accustomed hour came in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the speaker, and told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, and therefore advised him to return back again to his house, which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way. Upon which he [Lambert] rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horse; and bade major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bade major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthal to his house. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the least contradiction the troop marched very quietly till he was alighted at his own house, and then disposed of themselves as their new captain commanded them.

85 When they had thus secured themselves from any more votes, Lambert sent to those in the Palace-yard to withdraw to their quarters; which they refused to do; at which he smiled, and bade them then to stay there; which they did till towards the evening: but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the parliament sat not, they desired that they might retire to their quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were cashiered, and such sent to command as Lambert thought fit, who found all submission and obedience from the soldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no parliament, nor any officer in the army who by his commission was above the degree of colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

86 Whereupon the officers of the army meet together and declare, that the army finding itself without a general, or other general officers, had themselves made choice of

Fleetwood to be their general, and of Lambert to be their major general, and of Desborough to be commissary general of the horse; and that they bound themselves to obey them in their several capacities, and to adhere to and defend them. And upon the publishing this declaration they assumed their several provinces, and the whole army took commissions from their new general, and were as much united as ever they were under Cromwell, and looked upon it as a great deliverance that they should no more be subject to the parliament; which they all detested.

- 87 But these generals were not at ease, and knew well upon what slippery ground they stood: the parliament had stopped all the channels in which the revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of custom and excise; and to revive these impositions, by which the army might receive their wages, required another authority than of the army itself. The divisions in the parliament had made the outrage that was committed upon it less reproachful. Vane, who was much the wisest man, found he could never make that assembly settle such a government as he affected, either in church or state: and Haslerig, who was of a rude and stubborn nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinherit the king, and root out [his majesty's] party: in all other [things] relating to the temporal or ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animosity against each other.

- 88 Vane [was] a man not to be described by any character of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his per-

fection. He was a perfect enthusiast, and without doubt did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was inferior to that of few men,) that he did at some time believe that he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.

89 Haslerig was as to the state perfectly republican, and as to religion perfectly presbyterian; and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a king or a bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the parliament to be the only government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his credit in the house was greater than the other's; which made Vane less troubled at the violence that was used, (though he would never advise it,) and appeared [appear] willing enough to confer and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the government upon: and so he presently entered into conversation with those of the army who were most like to have authority.

90 A model of such a government as the people must acquiesce in and submit to would require very much agitation and very long time, which the present conjuncture would not bear, nor were there enough of one mind to give great authority to their counsel. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, that a number of persons should be chosen, who under the style of *a committee of safety* should assume the present entire government, and have full power to revive all such orders, or to make new, which [might] be necessary for raising of money, or for doing any thing else which should be judged for the peace and safety of the kingdom, and to consider and determine what form of government was fit to be erected, to which the nation should submit.

91 To this new invention, how wild soever, they believed

the people would be persuaded, with the assistance of the army, to pay a temporary obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the number of this committee of safety should consist of three and twenty persons; six officers of the army, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were three; Ireton, lord mayor of London, and Tichburn, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with four or five more of that classis of more private names; but men tried, and faithful to the republican interest, and not like to give any countenance to presbyterians, (for they were very jealous of that party generally,) [besides] three or four others of those who had been the king's judges, with Vane and Whitlock, whom they made keeper of their great seal.

92 And thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole legislative power of the nation, and proclaimed themselves *the committee of safety for the kingdom*, and required all people to pay them obedience, and issued out their warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to all which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, and that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own tribe in any parts, the committee of safety sent colonel Cobbet to Scotland, to persuade general Monk to a concurrence with them; and, because they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation between him and Lambert,) to work upon as many of his officers as he could, there being many in that army of whose affections they were well assured; and at the same time they sent another colonel into Ireland, to dispose the army there to a submission to their power and authority.

93 Before the parliament was routed they discerned what Lambert's intrigues would shortly produce, and therefore had writ to Monk that he would take care of his army,

lest it [should be] corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring; and Haslerig, who had some friendship with him, writ particularly to him, to continue firm to the parliament, and to assure him, that before Lambert should be able to be near him to give him any trouble, he would give him other divertisement. And as soon as Lambert had acted that violence upon the speaker, so that they could meet no more, Haslerig and Morley, two of the commissioners for the government of the army, went presently to Portsmouth, where colonel Whetham the governor was their friend, and devoted to the presbyterian-republican party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; the most considerable of their party professing that they very much desired monarchical government, and the person of the king, so that they might have him without episcopacy, and enjoy the lands of the church, which they had divided amongst them. They were well received at Portsmouth; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the governor turned all such officers and soldiers out of the town who were suspected to be, or might be made, of the party of the army; and colonel Morley, whose interest was in Sussex, easily drew in enough of his friends to make them very secure in their garrison; which the committee of safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that Haslerig would never be induced to serve the king, whose interest could only break all their measures.

- 94 But that which gave them real trouble was, that they received a bold letter from Monk, who presumed to censure and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the parliament, from whence they had all their power and authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of Berwick. But that which troubled them most was, that

as soon as Cobbet came into Scotland he was committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle, and that Monk used extraordinary diligence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; sending them under a guard into Berwick, and from thence dismissed them into England, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarum worthy of their fear, and evidence enough that they were never to expect him [Monk] to be of their party; besides that, they had always looked upon him as a person entirely devoted to the person of Cromwell; otherwise, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be seduced by the king than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send Lambert with their whole army into the north, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some troops to send to Portsmouth, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder [the garrison there] from making incursions into the two neighbour counties of Sussex and Hampshire, where they had many friends.

95 Whilst all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the committee of safety resolved once more to try if they could induce Monk to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent a committee to him of such persons as they thought might be grateful to him; amongst whom was his wife's brother, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his friends. He received these men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions, that he desired nothing more than to unite himself and his army with that of England, so that there might be a lawful power to which they might all be subject; [but] that the force that had been

used upon the parliament was an action of such a nature, that was destructive to all government, and that it would be absolutely necessary to restore that to its freedom, rights, and privileges; which being done, he would use all the instance and credit he had to procure an act of pardon and oblivion for all that had been done amiss; and this would unite both parliament and army for the public safety, which was apparently threatened and shaken by this disunion. [He added,] that he so much desired peace and union, and so little thought of using force, that he had appointed three officers of his army, Wilks, Clobery, and Knight, to go to London and treat with the committee of safety of all particulars necessary thereunto. When the committee from London gave an account of their reception, and of the great professions the general made, and his resolution to send a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the committee of safety was very well pleased, and concluded that the fame of their army's march had frightened him; so that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewise appointed Lambert to hasten his march, and to make no stay, till he should come to Newcastle. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his army still increasing till he came thither.

- 96 General Monk was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonshire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a soldier, upon that stage where all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch; and had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he assigned it to the command of colonel Goring. When the first troubles began in Scotland, Monk, with many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch service, and betook themselves to the service of the king. And in the beginning of the Irish rebellion

he was sent thither, with the command of the lord Leicester's own regiment of foot, (who was then lieutenant of Ireland,) and continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war brake out in England between the king and the parliament, he fell under some discountenance upon a suspicion of some inclination to the parliament; which proceeded only from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclinations towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at Nantwich, where he was taken prisoner, and remained in the Tower till the end of the war. For though his behaviour had been such in Ireland, when the transportation of the regiments from thence to serve the king in England was in debate, that it was evident enough that he had no mind his regiment should be sent in that expedition, and his answers to the lord of Ormond [were] so rough and doubtful, (having had no other education but Dutch and Devonshire,) that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; those regiments were sent to Chester; but there were others at the same time sent to Bristol, and with them Monk was sent prisoner, and from Bristol to the king at Oxford, where being known to many persons of quality, (and his eldest brother being at the same time most zealous in the king's service in the west, and most useful,) his professions were so sincere, (being throughout his whole life never suspected of dissimulation,) that all men thought him very worthy of all trust; and the king was willing to send him into the west, where all men had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old friends and companions; and so, with the king's leave, made all possible haste towards Chester; where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nant-

wich ; and though his lieutenant colonel was very desirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve as a volunteer in the first rank, with a pike in his hand, and was the next day taken prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other officers sent to Hull, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of London.

97 He was no sooner there, than the lord Lisle, who had great kindness for him, and good interest in the parliament, persuaded him, with much importunity, to take a commission in that service, and offered him a command superior to what he had ever had before ; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his exchange nor money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several officers of the same quality for his exchange ; which was always refused ; there having been an ordinance made, that no officer who had been transported out of Ireland should ever be exchanged ; so that most of them remained still in prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other prisons ; who all underwent the same hardnesses by the extreme necessity of the king's condition, which could not provide money enough for their supply ; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

98 When the war was at an end, and the king a prisoner, Cromwell prevailed with him, [Monk,] for his liberty and money, which he loved heartily, to engage himself again in the war of Ireland. And from that time he [Monk] continued very firm to him [Cromwell,] who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence ; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from those quarters ; nor was

there any man in either of the armies upon whose fidelity to him[self Cromwell] more depended. And those of his western friends who thought best of him thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst he [Cromwell] lived. But as soon as Cromwell was dead, he [Monk] was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the king than any other in any authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the king's service, and all his relations were of the same faith. He had no fumes of religion which turned his head, nor any credit with or dependence upon any who were swayed by those trances; only he was cursed after a long familiarity to marry a woman of the lowest extraction, the least wit, and less beauty, who, taking no care for any other part of herself, had deposited her soul with some presbyterian ministers, who disposed her to that interest. She was a woman, *nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, so utterly unacquainted with all persons of quality of either sex, that there was no possible approach to him by her.

- 99 He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parsonage in Devonshire, and had through all the ill times carried himself with signal integrity, and being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the king. Sir Hugh Pollard and sir John Grenvil, who had both friendship for the general, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his brother, advised with him, whether, since Cromwell was now gone, and in all reason it might be expected that his death would be attended with a general revolution, by which the king's interest would be again disputed, he did not believe that the general might be wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the king, in which, [they thought,] he would be sure to meet with a universal concurrence from the whole Scotch nation.

The honest person thought the overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a journey to [his brother] into Scotland, upon pretence of a visit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them,) and directly to propose it to him. Pollard and Greenvil informed the king of this design, and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his majesty's approbation and instruction. The king had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a negociation. And so his brother began his journey towards Edinburgh, where the general received him well. But after he had stayed some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, he found him to be so far from the temper of a brother, that after infinite reproaches for his daring to endeavour to corrupt him, he required him to leave that kingdom, using many oaths to him, that if he ever returned to him with the same proposition, he would cause him to be hanged; with which the poor man was so terrified, that he was glad when he was gone, and never had the courage after to undertake the like employment.

100 And at that time there is no question the general had not the least thought or purpose ever to contribute to the king's restoration, the hope whereof he believed to be desperate, and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards did arise from those accidents which fell out, and even obliged him to undertake that which proved so much to his profit and glory. And yet from this very time, his brother being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the king; which his majesty took no pains to disclaim, either there or in England.

101 Upon the several sudden changes in England, and the army's possessing itself of the entire government, he

[Monk] saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by Lambert's greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the north, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other party that would own and avow the parliament[']s interest, as he had done; nor had he then more in his imagination than his own profit and greatness under the establishment of its government.

102 When he heard of Lambert's being past York, and his making haste to Newcastle, and had purged out of his army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called the states of Scotland together, which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other tyranny over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce the pride and stubbornness of that people to an entire submission to the yoke. In all his other carriage towards them but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him than they had been [ac]customed to under their own lords. When the convention appeared before him, he told them that he had received a call from heaven and earth to march with his army into England for the better settlement of the government there; and though he did not intend his absence should be long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance of the peace which they enjoyed, and therefore he expected and desired that in any such occasion they would be ready to join with the forces he left behind in their own defence. In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for [from them,] he very earnestly pressed them that they would raise him a present sum of money for supplying

the necessities of the army, without which it could not march into England.

103 From the time that he had settled his government in that kingdom, he had shewed more kindness to, and used more familiarity with, such persons who were most notorious for affection to the king, as finding them a more direct and punctual people than the rest; and when these men resorted to him upon this convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content that they should believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the king; [by] which imagination of theirs he received very great advantage; for they gave him a twelvemonth's tax over the kingdom, which complied with his wish, and enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had assigned those who[m] he thought fit to leave behind him, under the command of major general Morgan, he marched with the rest to Berwick, where a good part of his horse and foot expected him, having put an end to his treaty at London, and committed and cashiered colonel Wilks, one of his commissioners he had sent thither, upon his return to Scotland, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and consented to another treaty to be held at Newcastle, which, though he knew [it] would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without some benefit to him[self,] because it would keep up the opinion in the committee of safety that he was inclined to [an] accommodation of peace.

104 It was towards the end of November that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcastle, where he found the officers and soldiers [whom] Monk had cashiered, and [who,] he persuaded the people, had deserted him [Monk] for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that most of those who stayed with him would do so

too, as soon as he should be within any distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his committee of safety which it was like to stand in need of. Haslerig and Morley were now looked upon as the persons invested with the authority of parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the officer who was sent by the committee of safety to restrain them, or rather to restrain persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his soldiers; who declared that they would serve the parliament, and so went into Portsmouth; and another officer, who was sent with a stronger party to second them, discovering or fomenting the same affections in his soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garrison, but were quartered to be in readiness to march whither their generals [Haslerig and Morley] would conduct them.

105 The city took new courage from hence; and what the masters durst not publicly own, the apprentices did, their dislike of the present government; and flocking together in great multitudes, declared that they would have a free parliament. And though colonel Hewson, (a fellow who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer,) who was left to guard the committee of safety, suppressed that commotion by marching into the city, and killing some of the apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the city the more against the army, which, they said, was only kept on foot to murder the citizens. And [it was said] they caused a bill of indictment to be prepared against Hewson for those murders. The common council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the committee of safety, which began to be universally abhorred, as like to be the original

of such another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army; though on the other hand the committee protested and declared to them, that there should be a parliament called to meet together in February next, under such qualifications and restrictions as might be sure to exclude such persons who would destroy them. But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

106 But that which brake the heart of the committee of safety was the revolt of their favourite vice-admiral Lawson, a man at least as much a republican as any man amongst them; as much an independent, as much an enemy to the presbyterians [and to] the covenant, as sir Harry Vane himself, and a great dependent upon sir Harry Vane; [and one] whom they had raised to that command, that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament. This was so unexpected, that they would not believe it, but sent sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawson, to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and two others, members of the parliament, who had so fully possessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms, and told them that he would submit to no authority but that of the parliament.

107 Upon the fame of this, Haslerig and Morley resolve with their troops to leave Portsmouth, and to march towards London, where their friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those soldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute any orders which they should receive from the committee of safety. The officers of these regiments had been cashiered by the committee of safety for adhering to the parliament, and their commands having been given to other men,

who had been discountenanced by the parliament, the regiments appeared as much confirmed to the interest of the army as could be wished. These cashiered officers, upon so great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haslerig and Morley, resolved to confer with their old soldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers, and found so much encouragement, that at a time appointed they put themselves into the head[s] of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; [whence,] after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the parliament, they all marched into Chancery-lane, to the house of the speaker, and professed their resolution to live and die with the parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it.

108 Lambert, upon the first news of the froward spirit in the city, had sent back Desborough's regiment, which was now marched as near London as St. Alban's, where, hearing what their fellows at Westminster, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their submission; but declared that they likewise were for the parliament; and gave the speaker notice of their obedience. In all these several tergiversations of the soldiers, the general Fleetwood remained still in consultations with the committee of safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself upon his knees before them: and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other an-

swer from him, than that God had spit in his face, and would not hear him : so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of general, and been content with the second command for himself.

109 Lenthal the speaker, upon this new declaration of the soldiers, recovered his spirit, and went into the city, conferred with the lord mayor and aldermen, and declared to them that the parliament would meet within very few days. For as the members were not many who were alive and suffered to meet as the parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and by his own authority removed the lieutenant, who had been put in by the committee of safety, and put in sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other members of the parliament, into the government and command of the Tower.

110 And all things being in this good order, he and his members met again together at Westminster, [on December the 26th,] and assumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs ; and put those collections into the state they had been formerly [in,] that they might be sure not to be without money to pay their proselyte forces, and to carry on their other expenses. Then they appointed commissioners to direct the quarters into which their army should be put, and made an order that all the troops under the command of Lambert, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those quarters to which they were assigned.

111 This man was now in a disconsolate condition : as Monk approached nearer to him, very many of his soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The lord Fairfax had raised forces, and possessed himself of York, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this

last order of the parliament so entirely stripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horse ; all the rest returned to their quarters with all quietness and resignation ; and himself was soon after committed to the Tower. Those officers of the army who had been formerly cashiered by them [the parliament], and [had] resumed their commands that they might disband them, were again dismissed from their charges, and committed prisoners to their own houses. Sir Harry Vane, and such other members of the house as had concurred with the committee of safety, were likewise confined to their own houses : so that the parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition or contradiction.

112 The other changes and fluctuations had still administered hopes to the king, and the daily breaking out of new animosities amongst the chief ministers of the former mischiefs disposed men to believe that the government might at last rest upon the old foundations. Men expected that a very sharp engagement between Lambert and Monk might make the army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new parliament, in the election whereof there was a reasonable belief that the general temper of the people would choose sober and wise men, who would rather bind up the wounds which had been already made than endeavour to widen them. The committee of safety [had] neither received the reverence, nor inculcated the fear, which any government [must] do that was to last any time. But this wonderful resurrection of the parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was formidable to the king and his party, and seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, looked like an act of Providence to establish their

monstrous murder and usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, that there was not one man who bore a part in those changes and giddy revolutions who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the king's restoration, or who wished well to his interest; they who did so being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this confusion. And this was the true state of affairs when the king returned from Fuentarabia to Brussels, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder that there was that dejection of spirit upon his majesty and those about him; and that the duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into England, was well pleased with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

113 Whilst the divisions continued in the army, and the parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and nobody imagined a possibility of any composition without blood, the cardinal himself, as is said before, and the Spanish ministers, seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the king's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging animosities composed or suppressed without one broken head, and those very men again in possession of the [government] and the army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the government as more securely settled against domestic disturbances, and much more formidably with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himself, and thought of nothing more than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it.

114 There remained only within the king's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Monk's march into England might yet produce some alteration. His majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal officers in his army, who were much trusted by him, and promised great services, and it was presumed that they would undertake no such perilous engagement without his privity and connivance. Then it might be expected from his judgment, that whatever present conditions the governing party might give him for the service he had done, he could not but conclude that they would be always jealous of the power they saw he was possessed of, and that an army that had marched so far barely upon his word would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough to all the world that the parliament resolved to new model their army, and to leave no man in any such extent of command as to be able to control their counsels. Besides he [his majesty] knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much soever they courted him [at that time], and therefore he was obliged to provide for his own safety and security.

115 But, I say, these were but faint hopes, and grounded upon such probabilities as despairing men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those officers had honest inclinations, and, as wise men, had concluded, that from those frequent shuffles some game at last might fall out that might prove to the king's advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application, which, in regard of the persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But they never gave the general the least cause to imagine that they had any such affection; and if they had, they had paid dearly for it. And for the second presumption upon his understanding and ratiocination, alas! it was not equal to the enterprise. He could not

bear so many and so different contrivances in his head together as were necessary to that work. And it was the king's great happiness that he never had it in his purpose to serve him till it fell to be in his power, and indeed till he had nothing else in his power to do. If he had resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was instrumental in bringing those mighty things to pass, which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive.

116 When the parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that general Monk was again in his old quarters in Scotland. But as he continued his march towards London without expecting their orders, so they knew not how to command him to return whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him and giving [him] thanks and reward for his great service; yet they sent to him their desire, that all his forces might be sent back to Scotland, and that he would not come to London with above five hundred horse; but he, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any work they could have to do in those northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thousand horse and foot, consisting of such persons in whose affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that city in the possession of the lord Fairfax, who received him with open arms, and as if he had drawn those forces together, and seized upon that place to prevent the army's possessing it, and to make his [Monk's] advance [into England] the less interrupted.

117 The truth is, that upon a letter from the king delivered to [Fairfax] by sir Horatio Townsend, and with

his sole privity, and upon a presumption that general Monk brought good affections with him for his majesty's service, the lord Fairfax had called together his old disbanded officers and soldiers, and marched in the head of them into York as soon as Lambert was passed towards Newcastle, with a full resolution to declare for the king; but when he could not discover upon conference with Monk that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the testimony of his own conscience, and presently dismissed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, presented their desires to the general in writing, that he would be instrumental to restore the nation to peace and security, and to the enjoying those rights and liberties which by the law were due to them, and of which they had been robbed and deprived by so many years' distractions; and that in order thereunto he would prevail, either for the restoring those members which had been excluded in the year 1648 by force and violence, that they might exercise that trust the kingdom had reposed in them, or that a free and full parliament might be called by the votes of the people, to which all subjects had a right by their birth.

118 The principal persons of all counties through which he marched flocked to him in a body with addresses to the same purpose. The city of London sent a letter to him by their sword-bearer, to offer their service; and all concluded for a free parliament, legally chosen by the free votes of the people. He received all with much civility and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare that nothing should shake his fidelity to the present parliament, yet privately assured those who he thought necessary should hope well, that he would procure a free parliament; so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

119 The parliament was far from being confident that he

[Monk] was above temptation; the manner of his march with such a body, contrary to their desires, his receiving so many addresses from the people, and his treating malignants so civilly, startled them much; [and] though his professions of fidelity to the parliament, and referring all determinations to their wisdoms, had a good aspect, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the people, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that license of addresses and resort of malignants, they sent two of their members of most credit [with them,] Scot and Robinson, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any delinquents. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the general would not bear any disrespect from those of whose persons they had all contempt, and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputing those two members, they likewise sent four of their principal citizens to perform the same compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free parliament, as the remedy all men desired.

120 He continued his march with very few halts till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days, and sent to the parliament that he had some apprehension that those regiments and troops of the army who had formerly deserted them, though for the present they were returned to their obedience, would not live peaceably with his men, and therefore desired that all the soldiers who were then quartered in the Strand, Westminster, or other suburbs of the city, might be presently removed, and sent to more distant quarters, that there might be

room for his army. This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their fate would still be to be under the force and awe of an army. However, they found it necessary to comply, and sent their orders to all soldiers to depart, which, with the reason and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a mutiny did arise amongst the soldiers, and the regiment that was quartered in Somerset-house expressly refused to obey those orders; so that there was like to be new uproars. But their officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion, were under restraint, [or absent:] and so at last all was composed, and officers and soldiers removed to the quarters which were assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old [ones.] And about the middle of February general Monk with his army marched through the city into the Strand and Westminster, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in Whitehall.

- 121 He was shortly after conducted to the parliament, which had before, when they saw there was no remedy, conferred the office and power of general of all the forces in the three kingdoms upon him, as absolutely as ever they had given it to Cromwell. There he had a chair appointed for him to sit in; and the speaker made a speech to him, in which he extolled the great service he had done to the parliament, and therein to the kingdom, which was in danger to have lost all the liberty they had gotten with so vast an expense of blood and treasure, and to have been made slaves again, if he had not magnanimously declared himself in their defence; the reputation whereof was enough to blast all their enemies' designs, and to reduce all to their obedience. He told him his memory should flourish to all ages, and the parliament (whose thanks he presented to

him) would take all occasions to manifest their kindness and gratitude for the service he had done.

122 The general was not a man of eloquence, or of any volubility of speech; he assured them of his constant fidelity, which should never be shaken, and that he would live and die in their service; and then informed them of the several addresses which he had received in his march, and of the observation he [had] made of the general temper of the people, and their impatient desire of a free parliament, which he mentioned with more than his natural warmth, as a thing they would expect to be satisfied in; (which they observed and disliked;) yet concluded, that having done his duty in this representation, and thereby complied with his promise which he had made to those who had made the addresses, he entirely left the consideration and determination of the whole to their wisdoms; which gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they longed for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

123 The late confusions and interruptions of all public receipts had wholly emptied those coffers, out of which the army, and all other expenses, were to be supplied. And though the parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very slowly; and the people generally had so little reverence for their legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to raise a present great sum of money upon the city; which could not be done but by

the advice and with the consent of the common council ; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably without their distribution.

124 The common council was constituted of such persons who were weary of the parliament, and would in no degree submit to or comply with any of their commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to this new imposition, but in the debate of it excepted against the authority, and upon the matter declared that they would never submit to any imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful parliament. And it was generally believed that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the general ; and the apprehension of this made the parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This [refusal] would immediately [have] put an end to their empire ; and they resolved therefore upon this occasion to make a full experiment of their own power and of their general's obedience.

125 The parliament having received a full information from those aldermen, and others whose interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the common council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the citizens, referred it to the consideration of the council of state what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, and to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the parliament. The privy council deliberated [upon] the matter, and returned their advice to the parliament, that some part of the army might be sent into the city, and remain there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of the commonwealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the parliament. And in order thereunto, and for their better humiliation, they thought it convenient that the posts and chains should be removed from and out of the several streets of the city, and that the portcullises and gates of the city should be taken down and broken. Over and above this,

they named ten persons, who had been the principal conductors in the common council, all citizens of great reputations; and advised that they [should] be apprehended and committed to prison, and that thereupon a new common council might be elected, that would be more at their devotion.

126 This round advice was embraced by the parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their general, and commanded him to march into the city with his whole army, and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their service; and he as readily executed their commands; led his army into the town [on Feb. the 9th], neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them,) caused as many as he could of those who were proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower, and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and brake the gates and portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole city; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, which was the whole kingdom, he returned himself to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters; and by this last act of outrage convinced those who expected somewhat from him how vain their hopes were, and how incapable he was of embracing any opportunity to do a noble action, and confirmed his masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant injunctions. And without doubt, if they [the parliament] had cultivated this tame resignation of his with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they would have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to their counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

127 Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to lessen his power and authority, and resolved to join others with him in the command of the army; and upon that very day they received a petition, which they had fomented, presented to the parliament by a man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, Praise-God Barebone, in the head of a crowd of sectaries. The petition began with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the memory of the late king, and against the person of the present king, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter extirpation of all which it pressed with great acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new parliament, at least of admitting those members to sit in the present parliament who had been excluded in the year 1648; either of which, they [the petitioners] said, would prove the inevitable destruction of all the godly in the land; and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, that no person whatsoever might be admitted to the exercise of any office or function in the state or in the church, no not so much as to teach a school, who did not first take the oath of abjuration of the king and of all his family, and that he would never submit to the government of any one single person whatsoever; and that whosoever should presume so much as to propose or mention the restoration of the king, in parliament or in any other place, should be adjudged guilty of and condemned for high treason.

128 This petition was received with great approbation by the house, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the parliament very solemnly returned by the speaker; all which information the general received at Whitehall, when he returned out of the city, and was presently attended by his chief officers, who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the parliament, their

manifest ingratitude to him, and the indignity offered to him, in their giving such countenance to a rabble of infamous varlets, who desired to set the whole kingdom in a flame, to comply with their fantastic and mad enthusiasms; and that they [the parliament] would never have admitted such an infamous address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon his ruin and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he did not prevent it by his wisdom and sagacity; and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were used to work upon the affections of the soldiers.

129 The general had been prepared, by the conferences of Scot and Robinson in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the parliament, he must take the oath of abjuration of the king and his family. And therefore they advised him to offer the taking it himself, before it should be proposed to him, as a matter that would confirm all men in an entire confidence in him; and he discovered not the least aversion from it. And when he came to the parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and without doubt he had not yet taken any such resolution as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awakened by this alarum from his officers, and the temper they were in, and his phlegm a little curdled, he began to think himself in danger; and that this body of men, that was called the parliament, had not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and those who adhered to them. He had observed throughout the kingdom, as he marched, how opprobrious they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation

but the rump, as the fag end of a carcass long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his officers ; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his army to him, that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

130 In the morning, the very next morning after he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's house where he dined. At the same time he left Whitehall, he sent a letter to the parliament, in which he roundly took notice of their unreasonable, unjust, and unpolitic proceedings ; of their abetting and countenancing wicked and unchristian tenets in reference to religion, and such as would root out the practice of any religion ; of their underhand corresponding with those very persons whom they had declared to be enemies, and who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts and indignities they had undergone, in and after their dissolution. And thereupon he advised them in such terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory command, that within such a time, (a time prescribed in his letter,) they would issue out writs for a new parliament, that so their own sitting might be determined ; which was the only expedient that could return peace and happiness to the kingdom, and which both the army and kingdom expected at their hands. This letter was no sooner delivered to the house, than it was printed, and carefully published and dispersed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how thoroughly he was embarked, and so entertain no new jealousies of him.

131 After he had dined, and disposed his army in such manner and order as he thought fit, he sent to the lord mayor and aldermen to meet him at the guildhall ; where, after many excuses for the work of yesterday,

they plighted their troth each to other in such a manner, for their perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the lord mayor attended the general to his lodging, and all the bells of the city proclaimed and testified to the town and kingdom that the army and the city were of one mind. And as soon as the evening came, there was a continued light by bonfires throughout the city and suburbs, with such a universal exclamation of joy as had never been known and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous expressions of scorn and contempt of the parliament as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a bonfire at which they did not roast rumps and pieces of flesh they made like them; which, they said, was for the celebration of the funeral of the parliament: [and] there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the parliament and to magnify the general.

- 132 In such a huddle and mixture of loose people of all conditions, and such a transport of affections, it could not be otherwise but that some men would drink the king's health; which was taken no notice of; nor did one person of condition once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their general again to them; and to that purpose they sent a committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his ambition or to satisfy his insatiable avarice. The entertainment he gave this committee was the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both how one

could have right to sit there as a parliament and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, that in justice the secluded members ought to be admitted, but that matter was now over, by his having required the calling another parliament and the dissolution of this.

133 After he had put the city into the posture they desired, and found no danger threatened him from any place, he returned again to his quarter[s] in Whitehall, and disposed his army to those posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the members of the parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented the sad condition the kingdom was in, which he principally imputed to the disunion and divisions which had arisen in parliament between those who were faithful to the commonwealth; that he had had many conferences with them together, and was satisfied by those gentlemen who had been excluded of their integrity; and therefore he had desired this conference between them, that he might communicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken in his delivery, or misapprehended in his expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what he had a mind to say in writing; which he commanded his secretary to read to them. The writing imported, that the settlement of the nation lay now in their hands, and that he was assured they would become makers-up of its woful breaches, in pursuit whereof they would be sure of all his service, and he should think all his pains well spent; that he would impose nothing upon them, but took leave to put them in mind, that the old foundations upon which the government had heretofore stood were so totally broken down and demolished, that in the eye of human reason they could never be reedified and restored but in the ruin of the nation; that the interest of the city of London would be best preserved

by the government of a commonwealth, which was the only means to make that city to be the bank for the whole trade of Christendom ; that he thought a moderate, not a rigid presbyterian government would be most acceptable, and the best way of settlement in the affairs of the church ; that their care would be necessary to settle the conduct of the army, and to provide maintenance for the forces by sea and land ; and concluded with a desire that they would put a period to the present parliament, and give order for the calling another that might make a perfect settlement, to which all men might submit. There was no dissimulation in this, that he might cover and conceal his good intentions for the king ; for without doubt he had not to this hour entertained any purpose or thought to serve him, but was really of the opinion he expressed in his paper, that it was a work impossible ; and desired nothing, but that he might see a commonwealth established in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred, and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the prince of Orange possessed in that government. He had not, from his marching out of Scotland to this time, had any conversation with any one person who had served the king, or indeed had he acquaintance with any such ; nor had he hitherto, or long after did he, set one of the king's friends at liberty, though all the prisons were full of them ; but on the contrary, they were every day committed ; and it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the king's restoration.

134 As soon as the conference above mentioned was ended with the members of the parliament, they who had been excluded from the year 1648 repaired to the house [on Feb. the 21st], and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places ; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolished all the orders by which they had been excluded ; then

they provided for him who had so well provided for them, by renewing and enlarging the general's commission, and revoking all other commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign quarters to any part of the forces.

¹³⁵ They who had sat before, had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of sectaries, persons of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new tenet in religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the king's party. All these commissions were revoked, and the militia put under the government of the nobility and principal gentry throughout the kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no person should be capable of being trusted in that province who did not first declare under his hand, that he did confess and acknowledge that the war raised by the two houses of parliament against the late king was just and lawful, until such time as force and violence was used upon the parliament in the year 1648.

¹³⁶ In the last place, they raised an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the month, for the payment of the army and defraying the public expenses, for six months, to which the whole kingdom willingly submitted; and the city of London, upon the credit and security of that act, advanced as much ready money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out writs to call a parliament, to meet upon the 25th day of April next ensuing, (being April 1660,) and then, on the sixteenth day of March, after they had appointed a council of state, consisting of many sober and honest gentlemen, who had never wished the king ill, they dissolved that present parliament, against all the importunities used by the sectaries, (who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of the city of London, that they would not dissolve themselves,)

and to the unspeakable joy of all the rest of the kingdom ; who, notwithstanding their very different affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long parliament.

137 When the king, who had rather an imagination than an expectation that the march of general Monk to London with his army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard now of his entire submission to the parliament, and of his entering the city and disarming it, the commitment of the principal citizens, and breaking their gates and portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile, attended with all those discomforts, of which he had too long experience, and which he must now expect would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect which use to wait upon that condition. And a greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the whole court of the king ; but God would not suffer the king long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the general's second march into the city was the very next day after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the first in the morning, brought likewise an account to his majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of bells and bonfires and burning of rumps, and such other additions as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

138 When it began to be dark, the lord marquis of Ormond brought a young man with him to the chancellor's lodging at Brussels, which was under the king's bedchamber, and to which his majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of any business. The marquis said no more but that that man had formerly been an officer under him, and he believed he was an honest man ; be-

sides, that he brought a line or two of credit from a person they would both believe ; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to think of it ; however, he would call the king to judge of it ; and so went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the king.

139 The man's name was Bailly ; who had lived most in Ireland, and had served there as a foot-officer under the marquis. He looked as if he had drank much or slept little : his relation was, that in the afternoon of such a day he was with sir John Stephens in Lambeth house, used then as a prison for many of the king's friends ; where, whilst they were in conference together, news was brought into the house by several persons that the general was marched with his whole army into the city, (it being the very next day after he had been there, and broke down their gates and pulled down their posts,) and that he had a conference with the mayor and aldermen ; which was no sooner ended, but that all the city bells rang out ; and he heard the bells very plain at Lambeth ; and that he stayed there so late, till they saw the bonfires burning and flaming in the city : upon which sir John Stephens had desired him that he would immediately cross the river, and go into London, and inquire what the matter was ; and if he found any thing extraordinary in it, that he would take post, and make all possible haste to Brussels, that the king might be informed of it ; and so gave him a short note in writing to the marquis of Ormond, that he might believe all that that messenger would inform him : that thereupon he went over the river, walked through Cheapside, saw the bonfires and the king's health drank in several places, heard all that the general had done, and brought a copy of the letter which the general had sent to the parliament at the time when he returned with his army into the city ; and then told many things which were, he said, publicly spoken

concerning sending for the king : and then he took post for Dover, and hired a bark that brought him to Ostend.

140 The time was so short from the hour he left London, that the expedition of his journey was incredible ; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time upon the most important affair and for the greatest reward. It was evident, by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some repetitions, that the man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep ; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his majesty and the other two ; and had been sent over lately by the king with some advice to his friends ; and it was well known that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was sent prisoner to Lambeth house. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the king could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the general's letter to the parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned ; and upon the whole matter, the king thought he had argument to raise his own spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his intelligence to his dispirited family and servants ; who, upon the news thereof, were proportionably revived to the despair they had swallowed ; and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their sufferings over ; and laid in a stock of [such] unreasonable presumption that no success could procure satisfaction for.

141 But the king, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such revolution as would be sufficient to do his work, towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any foreign power. The

most that he could collect from the general's letter, besides the suppressing the present tyranny of the parliament, was, that the secluded members would be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that council; which administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence [to his majesty.] Few of those excluded members had been true members of parliament, but elected into their places after the end of the war, who had been expelled for adhering to the king, and so had no title of sitting there, but what the counterfeit great seal had given them, without and against the king's authority. These men, with others who had been lawfully chosen, were willing and desirous that the concessions made by the late king at the Isle of Wight might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the name and life of the king, as much establish a republican government as was settled after his murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the house; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

142 Now what could the king reasonably expect from these men's readmission into the government, but that they would resume their old conclusions, and press him to consent to his father's concessions, and which his late majesty yielded unto with much less cheerfulness than he walked to the scaffold, and upon the promise of many powerful men then in the parliament that he should not be obliged to accomplish that agreement? These revolvings wrought much upon his majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what was done, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther account from London of the revolutions.

143 Indeed, when all he [his majesty had] heard before

was confirmed by several expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, his majesty recovered all his hopes again; which were every day confirmed by the addresses of many men who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his majesty's approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next parliament. And from the time that the parliament was dissolved, the council of state behaved themselves very civilly towards his majesty's friends, and released many of them out of prison: and Annesley, the president of the council, was very well contented that the king should receive particular information of his devotion, and of his resolution to do him service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his majesty, and returned a dutiful answer [to it:] all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the king knew not what to think of the general's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members; for which he could have no temptation but his violent affection to a commonwealth. None of his [majesty's] friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the king had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the king, of what importance it would be, that he gave them some credit, or means of access to the general, by which they might receive his order and direction in such things as occurred on the sudden, and that they might be sure to do nothing that might cross any purpose of his. To which the king returned no other answer, but that they should have patience, and make no attempt

whatsoever; and that in due time they should receive all advertisements necessary; it being not thought fit to disclaim the having no intelligence with or hopes of the general; since it was very evident, that the opinion that he did design to serve the king, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, whether he designed to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the advancement of his [majesty's] service, as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the assurance that other men had, that he had no such intention, hindered those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessened his credit with his own army, or united all the rest of the forces against him.

144 There happened likewise at this time an accident that very much troubled the king, and might very probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the dissolution of the parliament, which put an end to all the power and authority of those who had been the chief instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seized upon all who had been the late king's judges; who were sure to find [as] hard measure from the secluded members as they were to expect if the king himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power, who were called the rump, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the rump members would again resume the government, notwithstanding their dissolution by the power of the secluded members; who should then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

145 To this purpose they employed their agents amongst the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been disgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand and

Westminster, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for general Monk's army; which was now looked upon as the sole confiding part of the army. They inflamed these men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who having served throughout the war, should, besides the loss of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the soldiers of general Monk's army, who had all the same title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, Lambert made his escape out of the Tower; [his party] having in all places so many of their combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the general had as great a jealousy of this man's escape as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore it may be presumed that he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had the command of the place were notoriously known neither to love his [Lambert's] person nor to favour his designs.

146 This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general and the council of state into a great agony. They knew well what poison had been scattered about the army, and what impression it had made in the soldiers. Lambert was the most popular man, and had the greatest influence upon them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order

to prosecute and oppose him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed till he had digested the method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear, (which had been very easy then for him to have done,) he would have gone near to have shaken and dissolved the model that the general had made.

147 But either [through] the fear of his security, and being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; [of which] he had experience,) or the presumption that the army would obey him upon his first call, and that if he could draw a small part to him the rest would never appear against him, he precipitated himself to make an attempt before he was ready for it, or it for him; and so put it into his enemy's power to disappoint and control all his designs. He stayed not at all in London, as he ought to have done, but hastened into the country; and trusting a gentleman in Buckinghamshire, whom he thought himself sure of, the general had quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet with marvellous expedition, he [Lambert] drew four troops of the army to him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daventry in Northamptonshire, a country infamously famous for disaffection to the king and for adhering to the parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the army, before it should be known at Whitehall where he was, and that any forces could be sent from thence against him: of which he doubted not, from his many friends, he should have seasonable notice.

148 But the general, upon his first secret intimation of his being in Buckinghamshire, and of the course he meant

to take, had committed it to the charge and care of colonel Ingoldsby, (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himself received from him,) to attend and watch all his motion[s] with his own regiment of horse; which was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by Lambert to desert him. He [Ingoldsby] used so much diligence in waiting upon his [Lambert's] motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of Lambert's four captains fell into the hands of his forlorn hope; who made him prisoner, and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingoldsby, who after some conference with him gave him his liberty, upon his promise that he would himself retire to his house, and send his troop to obey his commands; which promise he observed; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quartermaster, came to Ingoldsby and informed him where Lambert was; who thereupon made haste, and was in his view before he [the other] had notice that he was pursued by him.

149 [Lambert,] surprised with this discovery, and finding that one of his troops had forsaken him, [saw] his enemy much superior to him in number, and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together, which the other was content to do. Lambert proposed to him that they might restore Richard to be protector, and promised to unite all his credit to the support of that interest. But Ingoldsby (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that undertaking) had devoted himself to a better interest, and adhered to the general, because he presumed that he did intend to serve the king, and so rejected this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under his enemy, he concluded that his safety would depend upon his

flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his horse. But Ingoldsby keeping his eye still upon him, and being as well horsed, overtook him and made him his prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him that he would permit him to escape.

150 With him were taken Oakes, Axtell, Cobbet, Creed, and many other officers of the greatest interest with the fanatic part of the army, and who were most apprehended by the general in a time when all the ways were full of soldiers who endeavoured to repair to them; so that if they had not been crushed in that instant they would in very few days have appeared very formidable. Ingoldsby returned to London, and brought his prisoners to the privy council, who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a stricter charge, with some other of the officers, and sent the rest to other prisons. This very seasonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the succeeding parliament, which was to assemble the next day after the prisoners were brought before the council, and which would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness if Lambert had remained still in arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

151 In this interval between the dissolution of the last and convention of the new parliament, the council of state did many prudent actions, which were good presages that the future counsels would proceed with moderation. They released sir George Booth from his imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing parliament, as he shortly after was, and set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the king's party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity appeared now abroad, and conversed without control; and Mr. Mordaunt, who was known to be entirely trusted by the king, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the council, and

some officers of the army, as Ingoldsby and Huntington, made, through him, tender of their services to the king.

152 But that which seemed of most importance was the reformation they made in the navy, which was full of sectaries, and under the government of those who of all men were declared the most republican. The present command of the fleet prepared for the summer service was under vice-admiral Lawson, an excellent seaman, but a notorious anabaptist, who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the same principles. And they well remembered how he had the year before besieged the city, and by the power of his fleet given that turn which overturned the committee of safety, and restored the rump parliament to the exercise of their jurisdiction; for which he stood high in reputation with all that party. The council resolved, though they thought [it] not fit or safe to remove [Lawson,] yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to control them. And in order to this they concluded that they would call Mountague, who had lain privately in his own house under a cloud and jealousy of being inclined too much to the king, and make the general (who was not to be left out in any thing) and him joint admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague would only go to sea, and have the ships under his command; by which he might take care for good officers and seamen for such other ships as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to observe if not reform the rest. Mountague sent privately over to the king for his approbation before he would accept the charge, which being speedily sent to him he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the general, and immediately applied himself to put the fleet into so good order that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no man who betook himself to his majesty's service with more generosity than this gentleman, it is fit in this

place to enlarge concerning him and his correspondence which he held with the king.

- 153 Mountague was of a family too much addicted to innovations in religion, and that in the beginning of the troubles appeared against the king; though his father, who had been a long servant to the crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only son within those limits; but being young, and more out of his father's control by being married into a family which at that time also trod awry, he was so far wrought upon by the caresses of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to him, he was persuaded to take command in the army when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than twenty years of age. He served in that army in the condition of a colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very stout and sober young man. And from that time Cromwell, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest confidence, and sent him, first, joined in commission with Blake, and then in the sole command of several expeditions by sea, in which he was successful and discreet. And though all men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without the least show of acrimony towards any who had served the king; and was so much in love with [monarchy,] that he was one of those who most desired and advised Cromwell to accept and assume that title, when it was offered to him by the parliament. He was designed by him to command the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the Sound, between the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, but was in truth to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede, with whom Oliver was engaged in an unseparable alliance. He was in this expedition when Richard was scornfully thrown out of the protectorship, and was

afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out whilst he had that command) with [Algernon] Sidney and the other plenipotentiaries which the rump parliament sent to reconcile those crowns. As soon as Richard was so cast down, the king thought Mountague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him to invite him to his service.

154 There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldest son of the lord Mountague of Boughton, and his cousin german, with whom he had a particular friendship. This gentleman was not unknown to the king, and very well known to the chancellor to have good affections and resolutions, and who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew had undertaken that unpleasant voyage only to dispose his cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his majesty. At this time sir George Booth appeared, and all those designs were laid, which [it was] reasonably hoped would engage the whole kingdom against that odious part of the parliament which was then possessed of the government. And it was now thought a very seasonable conjuncture to make an experiment whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the king.

155 The chancellor hereupon prepared such a letter in his own name as his majesty thought fit, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the time, and the determination of all those motives which had in his youth first provoked him to [the] engagements [he had been in.] He informed him of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and in the head of an army, and that his majesty was assured of many other places, and of a general combination between the persons of greatest interest to declare for the king; and that if he would bring his fleet upon the coast, his majesty or the duke of York would immediately be on board with him. This letter was enclosed in another to Edward Mount-

ague, to be by him delivered or not delivered as he thought fit, and committed to the care of an express who was then thought not to be without some credit with the admiral himself; which was not true. However, the messenger was diligent in prosecuting his voyage, and arrived safely at Copenhagen, (where the fleet lay, and where all the plenipotentiaries from the parliament then were,) and without difficulty he found opportunity to deliver his letter to the person to whom it was directed; who the same night delivered the other to his cousin, who received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden revolutions in England.

156 They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the messenger, who was nothing acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where, though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of good fellowship, that the admiral and many others had seen him and taken notice of him before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away without speaking with the admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand. But Edward Mountague writ such a letter to the chancellor, as was evidence enough that his majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any service that the other person [admiral] could perform for him. And with this answer the messenger returned to Brussels, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

157 Within few days after this man's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whose being there the plenipotentiaries were so jealous that they resolved to require of the king [of Denmark] that he might be committed to prison, admiral Mountague declared that he should not be able to stay longer there for the want of victual; of which he had not more than would serve to carry him home;

and therefore desired that they would press both kings and the Dutch plenipotentiaries to finish the negociation. By this time the news of the revolutions in England made a great noise, and were reported, according to the affections of the persons who sent letters thither, more to the king's advantage than there was reason for; and the other plenipotentiaries came to know that the man of whom they were so jealous had privately spoken with Edward Mountague, who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded that the admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to his negociation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his fleet under sail, making his course for England, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his inclination) to have secured his person on board his own ship, and to have disposed of the government of the fleet; which being thus prevented, they could do no more than send expresses overland, to acquaint the parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their natures and wits could suggest to them.

158 When the fleet arrived near the coast of England, they found sir George Booth defeated, and all persons who pretended any affection for the king so totally crushed, and the parliament in so full exercise of its tyrannical power, that poor Mountague had nothing to do but to justify his return by his scarcity of provisions, which must have failed, if he had stayed till the winter, which was drawing on, had shut him up in the Sound; and his return was upon the joint advice with the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his cousin who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that as soon as he had presented himself

to the parliament and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; so that he [Mountague] went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion [upon the parliament,] and general Monk's march into England, and till the name and title of the parliament was totally abolished and extinguished; and then the council of state called him to resume the command of another fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

159 [This,] together with the other good symptoms in the state, raised his majesty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so general an alteration and application of many who had been eminently averse from his majesty, of the general only who could put an end to all [his doubts,] there was *altum silentium*; no person trusted by his majesty could approach him, nor did any word fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

160 The general was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the king's party only excepted; with whom he would hold no conference; though he found in his every day's discourses in the city with those who were thought to be presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the king, and that they did believe that there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation that did not comprehend his interest and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there

must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his [majesty's] power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the crown or of bishops or of delinquents; and nobody spake more moderately than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight.

161 Whether by invitation or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland-house in a conference with that earl, the earl of Manchester, and other lords, and likewise with Hollis, [sir William] Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate presbyterian party, though most of them would have been very glad, their own security being provided for, that the king should be restored to his full rights and the church to its possessions. In this conference the king's restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom and for the satisfaction of the people, and the question seemed only to be upon what terms they should admit him, some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. And in this whole debate the general insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the king, that it would not be safe for them [then] to prosecute that advice; and therefore [it were best] to acquiesce till the parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the general, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom, yet was thought to have more familiarity and to converse more freely with sir Arthur Haslerig, who was irreconcilable to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that republican party which desired not to preserve any face of government in the church, [or uniformity]

in the public exercise of religion. And this made the lords and all other who were of different affections very wary in their discourses with the general, and jealous of his inclinations.

162 There was at this time in much conversation and trust with the general a Devonshire gentleman, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts, and [he] had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the king, if he had not good affection for him, which they who knew him best believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allied to the general, and entirely trusted by him in the managery of his estate in that country, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And being chosen to serve in the next ensuing parliament, he had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the general consulted freely [touching] all his perplexities and observations; how he found most men of quality and interest inclined to call in the king, but upon such conditions as must be very ungrateful, if possible to be received; and the London ministers talked already so loudly of [them,] that they had caused the covenant to be new printed, and to be secretly fixed up in all churches, where in their sermons they discoursed of the several obligations in it, that without exposing themselves to the danger of naming [the king,] which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood that they thought it necessary that the people should return to their allegiance.

163 That which wrought most upon the general was the choice which was generally made in all [counties] for members to serve in parliament, very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the king, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father,

and detest the government that succeeded ; so that it was reasonably apprehended, that when they should once meet, there would be a warmth amongst them that could not be restrained or controlled, and they might take the business so much into their own hands [as to] leave no part to him to merit of the king, from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

164 Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the affections of the west, where the king's restoration was, he said, so impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of no members to serve for Cornwall or Devonshire, but such who they were confident would contribute all they could to invite the king to return. And when that subject was once upon the stage, they who concurred with most frankness would find most credit, and they who opposed it would be overborne with lasting reproach. When the general had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance what he clearly saw he should not be able to hinder, and so consulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner, before the parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsel and contrivance.

165 There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a servant of trust to the king, sir John Greenvil, who from the time of the surrender of Scilly had enjoyed his estate and liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending the parson, his brother, to the general into Scotland, and was conversant only with those who were most trusted by his majesty, and at this time was taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordaunt, who most immediately corresponded with Brussels. This gentleman was of a family to which the general was allied, and [he] had been obliged to his father, sir Bevil Greenvil, who lost his life at the battle of Lansdown for

the king, and by his will commended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counsel of his neighbour and friend Mr. Morrice, who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.

166 The general was content that sir John Greenvil should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice should bring him secretly to him in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life, he told him he meant to send him to the king, with whom he presumed he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony; for he was resolved not to write, nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to confer with Mr. Morrice, and to take short memorials in his own hand of those particulars which he should offer to him in discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint. And so he retired hastily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his absence.

167 That which Mr. Morrice communicated to him [Greenvil,] was, after he had enlarged upon the perplexity the general was in by the several humours and factions which prevailed, and that he durst not trust any officer of his own army, or any friend but himself, with his own secret purposes, he advised that the king should write a letter to the general, in which, after kind and gracious expressions, he should desire him to deliver the enclosed letter and declaration to the parliament; the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration he [Morrice] discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all interests, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to suffer every man to enjoy what he would.

168 After sir John Greenvil had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short memorials for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he

was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the general, to whom he read the short notes he had taken, to which little was added; and he [the general] said, that if the king writ to that purpose, when he brought the letter to him, he would keep it in his hands until he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his majesty. Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the king to consent to, which was, his majesty's present remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know that the Spaniard had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends were jealous that it would not be in his power to remove from thence if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired that his majesty would make haste to Breda, and [that,] for the public satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in writing should bear date as from Breda; and he enjoined sir John Greenvil not to return till he had himself seen the king out of the dominions of Flanders. And thus instructed he left him, who, taking Mr. Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived safely at Brussels.

- 169 It was no unpleasant prospect to the king, nor of small advantage to him, that the Spaniards looked upon all these revolutions in England as the effects of the animosities and emulations of the several factions amongst themselves; a contention only between the presbyterian-republicans on one side, and the independent and leveling party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the government of the state, without the least reference to the king's interest: which [they thought] would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore don Alonzo, by his Irish agents,

(who made him believe any thing,) continued firm to the levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was assured would make a good peace with Spain ; which above all things they desired : and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the king upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to Brussels ; and when instruments of most credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some person, who was trusted by him, into Zealand, to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negociation, which was very expensive, they cared not what money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the king, and suffered him to be without that small supply which they had assigned to him.

170 And in this temper were the Spanish ministers when Mr. Mordaunt and sir John Greenvil came to Brussels. And they had so fully possessed the court at Madrid with the same spirit, that when the chancellor in his letters to sir Harry Bennet, his majesty's resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the king, he answered plainly, that he durst not communicate any of those letters to the ministers there, who would laugh at him for abusing them, since they looked upon all those hopes of the king as imaginary, and without foundation of sense, and upon his condition as most deplorable, and absolutely desperate.

171 When sir John Greenvil had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general's conference with him, [and] the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not

without great perplexity upon many particulars which were commended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving all men in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, and Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the throne [and] church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and [had] their lands confiscated and disposed of as [their enemies] had thought fit. [Then] the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be comprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his honour or his conscience that those who [had] sat as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of pardon; yet it was advised that there might be no exception, or that above four might not be excepted; because it was alleged that some of them had facilitated the general's march by falling from Lambert, and others had barefaced advanced the king's service very much.

- 172 After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general's advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declaration[s] to be prepared as should be in a good degree suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like the effect of the power of the parliament rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who he heard were

already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself to the wisdom of the parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to ; since he well knew that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them ; and without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged.

- 173 The advice for his majesty's remove out of Flanders presently was not ingrateful, for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it ; yet he was without any great inclination to Holland, where he had been as barbarously used as it was possible for any gentleman to be. But besides the authority which the general's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his majesty could remove no whither else. France was equally excepted against, and equally unagreeable to the king, and the way thither must be through all the Spanish dominions ; Dunkirk was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the English, from whence he might embark for England upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in England, after the peace between the two crowns, the king had sent to Lockhart, the governor, and general of the English there, by a person of honour, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his service by the prospect he had of the revolutions like to ensue, (which probably could not but be advantageous to the king,) and by the uncertainty of his [Lockhart's] own condition upon any such alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the king, and to receive his majesty into that garrison ; which might be facilitated by his majesty's troops, if he did not think his own soldiers enough at his devotion : but he could not be prevailed with, but urged the

trust he had received, and the indecency of breaking it; though he confessed there was such a jealousy of him in the council of state, for his relation and alliance to Cromwell, that he expected every day to be removed from that command; as shortly after he was. Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts and of honour,) or from his jealousy of the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation but in his own family,) certain it is, that at the same time he refused to treat with the king he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal, who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France: all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda.

¹⁷⁴ The king was resolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father than to pardon any of them and except four, as was proposed; and chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that affair, without any restriction, to the conscience of the parliament; yet with such expressions and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do themselves and the nation right, in declaring their detestation [of,] and preparing vengeance for, that parricide. And from the time that the secluded members sat again with the rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the king to depend upon their virtue and justice.

¹⁷⁵ When the summons were sent out to call the parliament, there was no mention or thought of a house of peers, nor had the general mentioned any such thing to

sir John Greenvil; nor did sir John himself or Mr. Mordaunt conceive that any of the lords had a purpose to meet, but that all must depend upon the commons. However, the king thought not fit to pass them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the house of commons; and likewise another to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London; who, by adhering to the general, were like to add very much to his authority.

176 When all those things were prepared and perused and approved by the king, which he resolved to send by sir John Greenvil to the general, (his and Mr. Mordaunt's being in Brussels being unknown, and they, attending his majesty only in the night at the chancellor's lodging, concealed themselves from being taken notice of by any,) his majesty visited the marquis of Carracena, and told him that he intended the next day to go to Antwerp, and from thence to Breda, to spend two or three days with his sister the princess of Orange, to whom the dukes of York and Gloucester were already gone, to acquaint her with the king's purpose; and his majesty likewise in confidence informed him, that there were some persons come from England, who would not venture to come to Brussels, from whom he expected some propositions and information which might prove beneficial to him, which obliged him to make that journey to confer with them.

177 The marquis seemed to think that of little moment, and said, that don Alonzo expected every day to receive assurance that the levellers would unite themselves to the king's interest upon more moderate conditions than they had hitherto made; but desired his majesty that the duke of York might hasten his journey into Spain, to receive the command that was there reserved for him; and the king desired him, that the forces he had promised for his service might be ready against his return to be embarked upon the first appearance of a hopeful occa-

sion. And so they parted; and his majesty went the next day to Antwerp with that small retinue he used to travel with.

178 [His departure was some hours earlier than the marquis imagined; and the reason of it was this: in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Irish young man, page at that time to don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the lord chancellor's lodgings, and finding his secretary in his own room, told him he must needs speak presently with his lord; for he had something to impart to him that concerned the king's life. The chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, that his lord don Alonzo and the marquis of Carracena had been long together that evening, and that himself had overheard them saying something of sending a guard to attend the king; that about an hour after, they parted; and the marquis sent a paper to don Alonzo, who, when he went to bed, laid it on his table: that himself, who lay in his master's antechamber, looked into the paper when his master was in bed, and seeing what it was, had brought it to the chancellor. It imported an order to an officer to attend the king with a party of horse for a guard wherever he went, (a respect that never had been paid him before,) but not to suffer him on any terms to go out of the town. As soon as the chancellor had read the order, he sent his secretary with it to the king, who was in bed likewise; and his majesty having read it, the secretary returned it to Galloway; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his master's table. The king commanded the chancellor's secretary to call up his majesty's querry, sir William Armorer, and to him his majesty gave his orders, charging him with secrecy that he would be gone at three of the clock that morning: and accordingly he went, attended by the marquis of Ormond, sir William Armorer, and two or three servants more. Be-

tween eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and inquire for the king; but it happened, by this seasonable discovery, that his majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small mortification, no doubt, of the Spanish governor.]

179 As soon as [his majesty] came into the States' dominions, which was [about] the midway between Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to sir John Greenvil (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the general that he had seen his majesty out of Flanders) all those despatches, which were prepared and dated as from Breda upon the same day in which he received them, and where his majesty was to be that night. The copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the general, upon perusal thereof, might choose whether he would deliver the originals, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which had or should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

180 Sir John Greenvil, before his departure, told the king, that though he had no order to propose it directly to his majesty, yet he could assure him that it would be the most grateful and obliging thing he [his majesty] could do towards the general, if he would give him leave to assure him, that as soon as he came into England he would bestow the office of one of the secretaries of state upon Mr. Morrice, who was as well qualified for it as any man who had not been versed in the knowledge of foreign affairs. One of those places was then void by the earl of Bristol's becoming Roman catholic, and thereupon resigning the signet; and his majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the general, and to gratify a person who had so much credit with him, and who had already given such manifestation of his good affection to his majesty, and directed him to give that assurance to

the general. And with these despatches Mr. Mordaunt (who privately expected his return at Antwerp) and sir John Greenvil made what haste they could towards England; and the king went that night to Breda. The letters which the king writ to the general and to the house of commons, and the [other letters, with] the Declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent :

181 *To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk, to be by him communicated to the president, and council of state, and to the officers of the armies under his command.*

“ Charles R.

“Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: It cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all endeavours, to improve the affections of our good subjects at home, and to procure the assistance of our friends and allies abroad, for the recovery of that right, which, by the laws of God and man, is unquestionable; and of which we have been so long dispossessed by such force, and with those circumstances, as we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions, but rather wish that the memory of what is past may be buried to the world. That we have more endeavoured to prepare and to improve the affections of our subjects at home for our restoration, than to procure assistance from abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as manifest to the world. And we cannot give a better evidence that we are still of the same mind than in this conjuncture; when common reason must satisfy all men, that we cannot be without assistance from abroad, we choose rather to send to you, who have it in your power to prevent that ruin and desolation which a war would bring upon the nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall enjoy, to your virtue; and to acknowledge that your armies have complied with their obligations for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the protestant religion, the honour and dignity of the king, the privileges of parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, and the fundamental laws of the land; and that you have vindicated that trust, which others most perfidiously abused and betrayed.

How much we desire and resolve to contribute to those good ends will appear to you by our enclosed Declaration; which we desire you to cause to be published for the information and satisfaction of all good subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion of precious Christian blood, but to have their peace and security founded upon that which can only support it, an unity of affections amongst ourselves, an equal administration of justice to men, restoring parliaments to a full capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of their land to their due veneration.

182 “ You have been yourselves witnesses of so many revolutions, and have had so much experience how far any power and authority that is only assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported by justice, is from providing for the happiness and peace of the people, or from receiving any obedience from them, (without which no government can provide for them,) that you may very reasonably believe that God hath not been well pleased with the attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased the confusion, by giving all the success that hath been desired, and brought that to pass without effect, which the designers have proposed as the best means to settle and compose the nation: and therefore we cannot but hope and believe, that you will concur with us in the remedy we have applied, which, to human understanding, is only proper for the ills we all groan under; and that you will make yourselves the blessed instruments to bring this blessing of peace and reconciliation upon king and people; it being the usual method in which divine Providence delighteth itself, to use and sanctify those very means, which ill men design for the satisfaction of private and particular ends and ambition, and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and public ends, and to establish that good which is most contrary to the designers; which is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a nation that can be given in this world. How far we resolve to preserve your interests and reward your services, we refer to our Declaration; and we hope God will inspire you to perform your duty to us and to your native country, whose happiness cannot be separated from each other.

183 “ We have intrusted our well-beloved servant sir John

Greenvil, one of the gentlemen of our bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an account of your reception of it, and to desire you, in our name, that it may be published. And so we bid you farewell.”

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$ th of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

184 *To our trusty and well-beloved, the speaker of the house of commons.*
“*Charles R.*

“Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: In these great and insupportable afflictions and calamities under which the poor nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper remedy, than to resort to those for counsel and advice, who have seen and observed the first beginning of our miseries, the progress from bad to worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings, which have produced and contributed to inconveniences which were not intended; and after so many revolutions, and the observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by our good subjects to repair the breaches which are made, and to provide proper remedies for those evils, and for the lasting peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom.

185 “We do assure you upon our royal word, that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem of parliaments than we have in our judgment as well as from our obligation; we do believe them to be so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that we well know neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; and therefore you may be confident, that we shall always look upon their counsels as the best we can receive, and shall be as tender of their privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to ourself, and most necessary for our own preservation.

186 “And as this is our opinion of parliaments, that their authority is most necessary for the government of the kingdom; so we are most confident that you believe and find that the preservation of the king's authority is as necessary for the preservation of parliaments; and that it is not in the name, but the right constitution of them, which can prepare and

apply proper remedies for those evils which are grievous to the people, and which can thereby establish their peace and security. And therefore we have not the least doubt but that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe our honour or impair our authority, as of your own liberty and property, which is best preserved by preserving the other.

187 “How far we have trusted you in this great affair, and how much it is in your power to restore the nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath undergone, and to make [the] king and people as happy as they ought to be, you will find by our enclosed Declaration, a copy of which we have likewise sent to the house of peers; and you will easily believe, that we would not voluntarily, and of ourself, have reposed so great a trust in you, but upon an entire confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due consideration of us who have trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of declining other assistance, (which we have assurance of,) and repairing to you for more natural and proper remedies for the evils we would be freed from, nor sorry that we have bound up our own interests so entirely with that of our subjects, as that we refer it to the same persons to take care of us who are trusted to provide for them. We look upon you as wise and dispassionate men, and good patriots, who will raise up those banks and fences which have been cast down, and who will most reasonably hope that the same prosperity will again spring from those roots, from which it hath heretofore and always grown; nor can we apprehend that you will propose any thing to us, or expect any thing from us, but what we are as ready to give as you to receive.

188 “If you desire the advancement and propagation of the protestant religion, we have, by our constant profession and practice of it, given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession, (of both which we have had abundant evidence,) could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not readily consent. And we hope, in due

time, ourself to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world, that we have always made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

189 “ If you desire security for those who, in these calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each other’s rights, we have left to you to provide for their security and indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think just and reasonable; and by a just computation of what men have done and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied; which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that peace which for the present might seem established. If there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem [it,] and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can be.

190 “ If you desire that reverence and obedience may be paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and that justice may be equally and impartially administered to all men, it is that which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons in power and authority should be so too.

191 “ In a word, there is nothing that you can propose that may make the kingdom happy, which we will not contend with you to compass; and upon this confidence and assurance we have thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see our heart; which, when God shall bring us nearer together, (as we hope he will do shortly,) will appear to you very agreeable to what we have professed; and we hope that we have made that right Christian use of our affliction, and that the observation and experience we have had in other countries, [have] been such, as that we, and, we hope, all our subjects, shall be the better for what we have seen and suffered.

192 “ We shall add no more, but our prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your counsels and direct your endeavours, that his glory and worship may be provided for, and the peace, honour, and happiness of the nation may be established upon

those foundations which can best support it. And so we bid you farewell."

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$ th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

193

His majesty's Declaration.

"*Charles R.*

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that, as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

194 "And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any conscious to themselves of what is past to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of king, peers, and people to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall

hereafter be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present Declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamage-ment of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights and theirs, in a free parliament; by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

195 “ And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

196 “ And because in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon several titles; we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

197 “ And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of general Monk; and

that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy."

Given under our sign manual, and privy signet, at our court at Breda, the $\frac{3}{4}$ th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

198

His majesty's letter to the house of lords.

" Charles R.

"Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, and right trusty and well-beloved cousins, and trusty and right well-beloved; we greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise ourself an end of our common sufferings and calamities, and that our own just power and authority will, with God's blessing, be restored to us, than that you are again acknowledged to have that authority and jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your birth and the fundamental laws of the land; and we have thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you for your help, in the composing the confounding distempers and distractions of the kingdom, in which your sufferings are next to those we have undergone ourself; and therefore you cannot but be the most proper counsellors for removing those mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a trust we repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed peace and security for the kingdom, will appear to you by our enclosed Declaration; which trust we are most confident you will discharge with that justice and wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that, upon your experience how one violation succeeds another, when the known relations and rules of justice are once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the rights of the crown, and for the honour of your king, as for yourselves: and then you cannot but discharge your trust with good success, and provide for and establish the peace, happiness, and honour of king, lords, and commons, upon that foundation which can only support it; and we shall be all happy in each other; and as the whole kingdom will bless God for you all, so we shall hold ourself obliged in an especial manner to thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this subject, because we have likewise writ to the house of commons; which we suppose they will communicate to you. And we pray

God to bless your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.”

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{1}{4}$ th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

199 *To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk and general Mountague, generals at sea, to be communicated to the fleet.*

“ *Charles R.*

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It is no small comfort to us, after so long and great troubles and miseries, which the whole nation hath groaned under, and after so great revolutions, which have still increased those miseries, to hear that the fleet and ships, which are the walls of the kingdom, are put under the command of two persons so well disposed to, and concerned in, the peace and happiness of the kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the officers and seamen under your command are more inclined to return to their duty to us, and put a period to these distempers and distractions, which have so impoverished and dishonoured the nation, than to widen the breach, and to raise their fortunes by rapine and violence; which gives us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the wounds by the same plaister that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in the same method in pouring his blessings upon us, which he was pleased to use when he began to afflict us; and that the manifestation of the good affection of the fleet and seamen towards us, and the peace of the nation, may be the prologue to that peace, which was first interrupted by the mistake and misunderstanding of their predecessors; which would be such a blessing upon us all, that we should not be less delighted with the manner than the matter of it.

200 “ In this hope and confidence, we have sent the enclosed declaration to you; by which you may discern how much we are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the general and public peace: in which, as no man can be more, or so much concerned, so no man can be more solicitous for it. And we do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said Declaration to be published to all the officers and seamen of the fleet; to the end that they may plainly discern how much we have put it into their power to provide for the peace and happiness of the nation, who have been always understood by them to be the

best and most proper counsellors for those good ends: and you are likewise farther to declare to them, that we have the same gracious purpose towards them which we have expressed towards the army at land; and will be as ready to provide for the payment of all arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several merits, as we have expressed to the other; and we will always take so particular a care of them and their condition, as shall manifest our kindness towards them. And so depending upon God's blessing for infusing those good resolutions into your and their hearts which are best for us all, we bid you farewell."

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{13}$ th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

201 *To our trusty and well-beloved the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, of our city of London.*

" Charles R.

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In these great revolutions of late, happened in that our kingdom, to the wonder and amazement of all the world, there is none that we have looked upon with more comfort, than the so frequent and public manifestations of their affections to us in the city of London; which hath exceedingly raised our spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the nation; which hath been encouraged by you, and your good example, to assert that government under which it hath, so many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as any nation in Europe; and to discountenance the imaginations of those who would subject our subjects to a government they have not yet devised, and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyrannical power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like devices, all the world takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English nation; which we hope is now providing for its own security and redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by those inventions.

202 " How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the peace and happiness of our subjects without effusion of blood, and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to us

by a war, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the enclosed Declaration ; which together with this our letter, we have intrusted our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the lord viscount Mordaunt, and our trusty and well-beloved servant, sir John Greenvil, knight, one of the gentlemen of our bedchamber, to deliver to you ; to the end that you, and all the rest of our good subjects of that our city of London, (to whom we desire it should be published,) may know how far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom should be raised upon any other foundation than the affections and hearts of our subjects, and their own consents.

- 203 “ We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these our condescensions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet us with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental laws to that reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by our particular affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native country, and to advance the honour of it ; and as we have that full affection for the kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary kindness for our native city in that particular ; which we shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their charter, and confirming all those privileges which they have received from our predecessors, but by adding and granting any new favours, which may advance the trade, wealth, and honour of that our native city ; for which we will be so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will, in due time, receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from our own observation and experience abroad. And we are most confident we shall never be disappointed in our expectation of all possible service from your affections : and so we bid you farewell.”

Given at our court at Breda, the $\frac{1}{4}$ th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

- 204 The [two] gentlemen who had been with the king returned to London before the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the parliament was to begin. The

general, upon perusal of the copies of the several despatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the king; and though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of king, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his majesty: yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr. Morrice only excepted,) that he had received any letter from the king, until the very minute that he presented it to the house of commons.

205 There happened a concurrence at the same time which much facilitated the great work in hand. The great obstruction that hindered the universal consent to call in the king was the conscience of the personal injuries and incivilities and reproaches which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the king, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they, who had been kept under and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the king's restoration with extreme license and insolence. To obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the king's party caused a profession and protestation to be prepared, in which they declared that they looked upon their late sufferings as the effect of God's judgments upon their own particular sins, which had as much contributed to the miseries of the nation as any other cause had done; and they did therefore protest, and call God to witness of such their protestation, that if it should please God to restore the king, they would be so far from remembering any injuries or discourtesies which they had sustained, in order to return the like to any who had disoblged them, that they

resolved on nothing more than to live with the same affection and good neighbourhood towards them as towards each other, and never to make the least reflection upon any thing that was past.

206 These professions, or to the same purpose, under the title of “The Protestation of all those who had served the late king or his present majesty, or adhered to their party, in such a county,” which was named, and so several papers, were signed by all the considerable persons of that county who were reputed of the royal party; and then they were all printed with their names, and published to the view of all the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good understanding between them.

207 Nothing hath been yet said of Ireland; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the same giddiness. The Irish, who would [now] have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness by doing any service for the king, were under as severe a captivity and complete misery as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near or above one hundred thousand of them transported into foreign parts, for the service of the two kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that number consumed by the plague and famine, and inhuman barbarities exercised upon them in their own country, the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was [allotted] to every man as the protector thought competent for them;

upon which they gave formal releases of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other province of which they had been deprived ; and if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived of what they would not release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it, and left to starve within the limits prescribed to them, and out of which they durst not withdraw ; and they who did adventure were without all remorse killed by the English as soon as they were discovered : so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded ; upon which the lords and gentlemen had such assignments of land made to them as in some degree were proportionable to their qualities ; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that [province,] who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own ; but to those who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing, it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives : yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to industry ; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the limits prescribed, in a condition of living ; though even the hard articles which had been granted were not observed to them, but their proportions restrained and lessened by some pretences of the English under some former grants or other titles ; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation ; which reproach they took so heavily from the earl of Strafford, when indeed they were equally free with the English, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he lost his life.

208 Upon the recalling and tame submission of Harry Cromwell to the rump parliament, as soon as his brother Richard was deposed, the factions increased in Ireland to

a very great height, as well amongst the soldiers and officers of the army, as in the council of state, and amongst the civil magistrates. The lord Broghill, who was president of Munster, and of a very great interest and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much, that he less feared the king; and so wished [for] a safe opportunity to do him [his majesty] service; and he had a good post, and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

209 Sir Charles Coot, who was president of Connaught, and had a good command and interest in the army, was a man of less wit and less guilt, and more courage and impatience to serve the king. [He] sent over sir Arthur Forbes, a Scotch gentleman of good affection to the king, and good interest in the province of Ulster, where he was an officer of horse. This gentleman sir Charles Coot sent to Brussels to the marquis of Ormond, that he might assure his majesty of his affection and duty; and that if his majesty would vouchsafe himself to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him: that though the present power in England had removed all the sober men from the government of the state, [in Ireland,] under the character of presbyterians, and had placed Ludlow, Corbet, and others of the king's judges, in their places, yet they were so generally odious to the army as well as to the people, that they could seize upon their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, when they should judge it convenient.

210 Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Brussels before the king had any assurance or confident hope of the general, and when few men thought his fortune better than desperate: so that if what sir Arthur proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most men [about the court] would have been very solicitous for his majesty's going

into Ireland. But his majesty well knew that that unhappy kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there, which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat in the end, of which he should be glad; and dismissed sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for Ireland; where he found the state of affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and general Monk's marching towards London, the lord Broghill and sir Charles Coot, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined with such other persons who were presbyterians, and though they had been always against the king, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by Lambert or the rump parliament, and submitted to the orders of general Monk, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the king; and so, by the time that the parliament was to meet at Westminster, all things were so well disposed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the general and the parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

²¹¹ The parliament met upon the 25th of April; of which the general was returned a member, to serve as knight of the shire for the county of Devon, together with Mr. Maurice; sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen speaker, who had been a member of the long parliament, and continued rather than concurred with them till after the treaty of the Isle of Wight; where he was one of the commissioners sent to treat with the king, and behaved himself so well that his majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, [he] pressed the acceptation of the king's concessions; and was thereupon in the number of those who were by force excluded from the house. And his election to be

speaker at this time was contrived by those who meant well to the king; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs [it was laid for] would succeed. They began only with bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with execrations upon the unchristian murder of the late king. And in these generals they spent the first five days of their sitting; no man having the courage, how loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the general was of; who could only protect such a proposition from being penal to the person that made it by their former ordinances.

212 After he [the general] had well surveyed the temper of the house, upon Tuesday the first of May he came into the house, and told them, one sir John Greenvil, who was a servant of the king's, had brought him a letter from his majesty, which he had in his hand, but would not presume to open it without their direction, and that the same gentleman was at the door, and had a letter to the house; which was no sooner said, than with a general acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the bar, he said that he was commanded by the king his master, having been lately with him at Breda, to deliver that letter to the house; which he was ready to do; and so, sending it by the sergeant to be delivered to the speaker, he withdrew.

213 The house impatiently called to have both letters read, that to the general and that to the speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily called for, and read. And from this time Charles Stuart was no more heard of; and so universal a joy was never seen within those walls; and though there were some members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the house, nor with the argument of it, and [probably] had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet

they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest: who, not deferring it one moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a committee to prepare an answer to his majesty's letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the house had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his majesty; and that the house would give a speedy answer to his majesty's gracious proposals. They likewise ordered at the same time that both his majesty's letters, that to the house and that to the general, with his majesty's Declaration therein enclosed, and the resolution of the house thereupon, should be forthwith printed and published.

- 214 This kind of reception was beyond what the best affected, nay, even the king, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The lords, when they saw what spirit the house [of commons] was possessed of, would not lose their share of thanks, but [made] haste into [their] house without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewise the letter from sir John Greenvil which his majesty had directed to them; and which they received with the same duty and acknowledgment. The [lord] mayor, aldermen, and common council were [likewise] transported with the king's goodness towards them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency, and entered into close deliberation what return they should make to him to manifest their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army, upon the sight of the letter to their general, and his majesty's Declaration, thought themselves highly honoured, in that they were looked upon as good instruments of his majesty's restoration; and made those vows, and published such declarations of their loyalty and duty, as their general caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, he

[the general] managed the business which he had now undertaken with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their commands whose affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at least their countenances appeared such as if they were glad at the heart.

215 The committee, who were appointed by the house of commons to prepare an answer to the king's letter, found it hard to satisfy all men, who were well contented that the king should be invited to return; but they thought that the guilt of the nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the treaty ought first to be made with the king, and conditions of security [agreed on,] before his majesty should be received. Many of those who had conferred together before the meeting of the parliament had designed some articles to be prepared, according to the model of those at Killingworth in the time of king Harry the Third, to which the king should be sworn before he came home. Then the presbyterian party, of which there were many members in parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the covenant, and at least that somewhat should be inserted in their answer to the discountenance of the bishops. But the warmer zeal of the house threw away all those formalities and affectations; [they] said they had proceeded too far already in their vote upon the reception of the letter to fall back again, and offend the king with colder expressions of their duty. In the end, after some days' debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the house, they were contented to gratify the presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions

which would please them, and could do the king no prejudice; and all agreed that this answer should be returned to his majesty, which is here inserted in the very words :

216 “ *Most royal sovereign,*

“ We your majesty’s most loyal subjects, the commons of England assembled in parliament, do, with all humbleness, present unto your majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts, for those gracious expressions of piety and goodness and love to us, and the nations under your dominion, which your majesty’s letter of [the] $\frac{1}{4}$ th of April, dated from Breda, together with the Declaration enclosed in it of the same date, do so evidently contain. For which we do, in the first place, look up to the great King of kings, and bless his name, who hath put these thoughts into the heart of our king, to make him glorious in the eyes of his people; as those great deliverances, which that divine Majesty hath afforded unto your royal person, from many dangers, and the support which he hath given unto your heroic and princely mind under various trials, make it appear to all the world that you are precious in his sight. And give us leave to say, that as your majesty is pleased to declare your confidence in parliaments, your esteem of them, and this your judgment, and character of them, that they are so necessary for the government of the kingdom, that neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them, and therefore say, that you will hearken unto their counsels, be tender of their privileges, and careful to preserve and protect them; so we trust, and will, with all humility, be bold to affirm, that your majesty will not be deceived in us, and that we will never depart from that fidelity which we owe unto your majesty, that zeal which we bear unto your service, and a constant endeavour to advance your honour and greatness.

217 “ And we beseech your majesty, we may add this farther for the vindication of parliaments, and even of the last parliament, convened under your royal father of happy memory, when, as your majesty well observes, through mistakes and misunderstandings, many inconveniences were produced which were not intended, that those very inconveniences could not have been brought upon us by those persons who had designed them, with-

out violating the parliament itself. For they well knew it was not possible to do a violence to that sacred person whilst the parliament, which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety of that person, remained entire. Surely, sir, as the persons of our kings have ever been dear unto parliaments, so we cannot think of that horrid act committed against the precious life of our late sovereign but with such a detestation and abhorrency as we want words to express it; and, next to wishing it had never been, we wish it may never be remembered by your majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sorrow, as it will never be remembered by us but with that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being the greatest reproach that ever was incurred by any of the English nation, an offence to all the protestant churches abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of religion here at home; though both profession and true professors, and the nation itself, as well as the parliament, were most innocent of it; [it] having been only the contrivance and act of some few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others as by their influence were misled. And as we hope and pray that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the evil consequences thereof, unto the land, whose divine justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so we cannot but give due praise unto your majesty's goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled and reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as it were prevent your parliament and people, proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting the parliament to consider farther, and advise your majesty, what may be necessary to restore the nation to what it hath lost, raise up again the banks and fences of it, and make the kingdom happy by the advancement of religion, the securing of our laws, liberties, and estates, and the removing of all jealousies and animosities which may render our peace less certain and durable. Wherein your majesty gives a large evidence of your great wisdom; judging aright, that, after so high a distemper, and such a universal shaking of the very foundations, great care must be had to repair the breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

218 “ We shall immediately apply ourselves to the preparing of

these things, and in a very short time we hope to be able to present them to your majesty ; and for the present do, with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your grace and favour in assuring of us of your royal concurrence with us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you, but what you will be as ready to give as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of your majesty's effectual performance, since your own princely judgment hath prompted unto you the necessity of doing such things ; and your piety and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of them to your faithful parliament. You speak as a gracious king, and we will do what befits dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects ; who are yet more engaged to honour and highly esteem your majesty, for your declining, as you were pleased to say, all foreign assistance, and rather trust[ing] to your people ; who, we do assure your majesty, will and do open their arms and their hearts to receive you, and will spare neither their estates nor their lives when your service shall require it of them.

- 219 “ And we have yet more cause to enlarge our praise and our prayers to God for your majesty, that you have continued unshaken in your faith ; that neither the temptation of allurements, persuasions, and promises from seducing papists on the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage from some seduced and misguided professors of the protestant religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on your majesty to make you forsake the Rock of Israel, the God of your fathers, [and] the true protestant religion, in which your majesty hath been bred ; but you have still been as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with your and our God, even now expressing your zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and your care and study for the propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the land, and an assurance to them that God would not forsake you ; but after many trials, which should but make you more precious, as gold out of the fire, [would] restore your majesty unto your patrimony and people with more splendour and dignity, and make you the glory of kings and the joy of your subjects ; which is, and shall ever be, the prayer of your majesty's most loyal subjects, the commons of England assembled in parliament.”

Which letter was signed by sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker.

220 As soon as this letter was engrossed and signed, sir John Greenvil was appointed to attend again; and being brought to the bar, the speaker stood up, and told him that they need not tell him with what grateful hearts they had received his majesty's gracious letter; he himself was an ear and an eye-witness of it; their bells and their bonfires had already begun the proclamation of his majesty's goodness and of their joys; that they had now prepared an answer to his majesty, which should be delivered to him; and that they did not think it fit that he should return to their royal sovereign without some testimony of their respects to himself; and therefore that they had ordered five hundred pounds to be delivered to him, to buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for being the messenger of so gracious a message; and in the name of the house he gave him their hearty thanks. So blessed a revolution it was, that a servant of the king's, who for near ten years together had been in prisons and under confinements, only for being the king's servant, and would but three months before have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the king, should be now rewarded for bringing a message from him. And from this time there was such an emulation and impatience in lords and commons and city, and generally over the kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so many years from enjoying the comfort and the support of such excellent subjects.

221 The lords and the commons now conferred together, how they might with most lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his majesty's return. They remembered, that upon the murder of the late king there was a declaration, that no man, upon peril of his life and forfeiture of his estate, should presume to proclaim his

successor; which so terrified the people, that they durst not so much as pray for him. Though the parliament had, by all the ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make some formal proclamation of his majesty's undoubted right to the crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him which they ought to do by the laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare such a proclamation; which being done, the lords and commons, the general having concerted all things with the city, met in Westminster-hall upon the 8th of May, within seven days after the receipt of the king's letter; and walked into the palace-yard; where they all stood bare, whilst the heralds proclaimed the king. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the same; and afterwards at Temple-bar, the lord mayor, and aldermen, and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in all the usual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day, and the night, was spent in those acclamations, festivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon such solemnities. Which done, nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his majesty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in these words:

- 222 “ Although it can no way be doubted, but that his majesty's right and title to his crown and kingdoms is and was every way completed by the death of his most royal father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation; yet, since proclamations in such cases have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty and respect, and since the armed violence, and other the calamities of many years last past, [have] hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity, whereby we might express our loyalty and allegiance to his majesty, we therefore, the lords and commons now assembled in parliament, together with

the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, and other freemen of this kingdom now present, do, according to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously proclaim, that immediately upon the decease of our late sovereign lord king Charles, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of the blood royal of this realm; and that, by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted king; and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterity for ever."

223 From the time that the king came to Breda, very few days passed without some express from London, upon the observations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active against the king, and were now as solicitous that his majesty should know that they wholly dedicated themselves to his service. [Even] before the general had declared himself, or the parliament was assembled, some who had sat judges upon his father sent many excuses that they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal services if they might obtain their pardon. But his majesty would admit no address from them, nor hearken to any proposition made on their behalf.

224 There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the case of colonel Ingoldsby; who was in the number of the late king's judges, and whose name was in the warrant for his murder; who from the deposal of Richard had declared that he would serve the king, and told Mr. Mor-daunt that he would perform all the services he could without making any condition, but would be well content, that his majesty, when he came home, should take his head, if he thought fit; only he desired that he [the king] might know the truth of his case; which was this:

225 He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came first to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horse, and to have the reputation of great courage against the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be judges of the king; and it is as true that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other passion in any part of the quarrel but his personal kindness to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid sentence was pronounced, he had occasion to speak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the painted chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had sat upon the king, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for his majesty's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he ran to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, though he had escaped him all the while [before,] he should now sign that paper as well as they; which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying, he knew nothing of the business; and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand.

226 Though his majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his pardon; presuming that if all the allegations were true, there would be a season when a distinction would be made, without his majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of those classes, which he resolved

never to pardon. Nor was he [Ingoldsby] at all disheartened with [this,] but pursued his former resolutions, and first surprised the castle of Windsor, (where there was a great magazine of arms and ammunition,) and put out that governor whom the rump had put in, and afterwards took Lambert prisoner, as is before remembered.

227 Whilst the fleet was preparing, admiral Mountague sent his cousin Edward Mountague to the king, to let him know that as soon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days,) he would be himself on board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his majesty's orders: this was before the parliament assembled. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the king had any assurance of the general, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his majesty that he was restrained from communicating to either the confidence he had in the other, which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his majesty.

228 The frequent resort of persons to Brussels, before they knew of the king's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his majesty's servants and the other English who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the Spanish ministers begin to think that the king's affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the king's remove to Breda than at first appeared. And they had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his majesty to remain in their dominions, as they used to do when his

presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of great resort thither to the king, and that he had stayed longer there than he had seemed to intend to do, the marquis Carracena sent a person of prime quality to Breda, to invite his majesty to return to Brussels; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful propositions from England, to which he was not willing to make any answer without receiving his majesty's approbation and command.

229 The king sent him word, that he was obliged, with reference to his business in England, to stay where he was; and that he was not without hope that his affairs might succeed so well that he should not be necessitated to return to Brussels at all. Which answer the marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same messenger with a kind of expostulation for the indignity that would be offered to his catholic majesty, if he should leave his dominions in such a manner; and therefore besought him, either to return himself thither, or that the duke of York and the duke of Gloucester, or at least one of them, might come to Brussels, that the world might not believe that his majesty was offended with the catholic king, who had treated him so well. When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the king and both the dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his catholic majesty, and of the civilities shewed to them by the marquis himself, he revenged himself upon don Alonzo with a million of reproaches, for his stupidity and ignorance in the affairs of England, and of every thing relating thereunto, after having resided sixteen years ambassador in that kingdom.

230 Cardinal Mazarine had better intelligence from the French ambassador in London; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general

imagination that general Monk had other intentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the king was removed from Brussels to Breda, he presently persuaded the queen mother of England to send the lord Jermyn (whom the king had lately, upon his mother's desire, created earl of St. Alban's) to invite the king to come into France; and to make that treaty, which probably would be between the ensuing parliament and his majesty, in that kingdom; which might prove of great use and advantage to her majesty's interest and honour; and in which the power of the cardinal might be of great importance in diverting or allaying any insolent demands which might be made. And the cardinal made the same invitation by [that lord,] with professions of wonderful kindness; and that the [most] Christian king was infinitely desirous to perform all those offices and respects to his majesty which he had always desired, but was never able to accomplish till now; with this addition, that if his majesty found that the expedition of his affairs would not permit him to come to Paris, order and preparations should be made for his reception at Calais, or any other place he would appoint; where the queen his mother would attend him; with all other expressions of the highest esteem; which the sagacity of that great minister was plentifully supplied with.

- 231 The earl of St. Alban's found the king in too good a posture of hope and expectation to be much importuned upon the instances he brought, and was contented to return with the king's acknowledgment and excuse, that he could not decently pass through Flanders, after he had refused to return to Brussels; and without going through those provinces, it was not possible for him to make a journey into France. In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his majesty to find himself so solemnly invited by [the ministers of these] two great kings to enter in[to] their dominions, out of one of

which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension [had been] suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his journey.

²³² Persons now came to Breda, not as heretofore to Cologne and to Brussels, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to present their duty to the king; some being employed to procure pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good presents in English gold to the king, that their names, and the names of their friends who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their affections that way to his majesty, by supplying his necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. And by these supplies his majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his servants the arrears of their board-wages, but to give them all some testimony of his bounty, to raise their spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this [was] before the delivery of the king's letter by the general to the parliament.

²³³ The king had not been many days in Breda before the States General sent deputies of their own body to congratulate his majesty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge the great honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beseeching his majesty that he would grace that province with his kingly presence at the Hague, where preparations should be made for his reception, in such a manner as should testify the great joy of their hearts for the blessings which the divine Providence was pouring upon his head. And his majesty

accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their professions.

234 In the mean time Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as London, with presents, and protestations how much they had longed and prayed for this blessed change, and magnifying their sufferings under the late tyrannical government, when many of them had been zealous ministers and promoters of it. The magistrates of the town took all imaginable care to express their devotion to the king, by using all civilities towards, and [providing] for the accommodation of, the multitude of his subjects who resorted thither to express their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined, by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always passion for his prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their superiors, whom they were bound to obey.

235 All things being in readiness, and the States having sent their yachts and other vessel[s] for the accommodation of his majesty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the king, with his royal sister and brothers, left that place [in the beginning of] May, and within an hour embarked themselves on board the yachts, which carried them to Rotterdam; Dort, and the other places near which they passed, making all those expressions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river, and all other ways which the situation of those places would suffer. At Rotterdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague (at least five English miles) they seemed to pass through one continued street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the

people on both sides, with such acclamations of joy, as if themselves were now restored to peace and security.

²³⁶ The entrance into the Hague, and the reception there, and the conducting his majesty to the house provided for his [entertainment,] was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatness of that state. And the treatment of his majesty, and all who had relation to his service, at the States' charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly splendid and noble; and the universal joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own subjects. The States General, in a body, and the States of Holland, in a body, performed their compliments with all solemnity; and then the several persons, according to their faculties, made their professions; and a set number of them was appointed always to wait in the court, to receive his majesty's commands. All the ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, and states, repaired to his majesty, and professed the joy of their masters on his majesty's behalf: so that a man would have thought that this revolution had been brought to pass by the general combination and activity of Christendom, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

²³⁷ The king had been very few days at the Hague when he heard that the English fleet was in sight of Scheveling, and shortly after, an officer from admiral Mountague was sent to the king, to present his duty to him, and to the duke of York, their high admiral, to receive his orders. As soon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found those officers more frank in declaring their duty to the king, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the parliament to his majesty, but to be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from

them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons, who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his majesty; which expedition was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

238 The duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, to take possession of his command; where he was received by all the officers and seamen with all possible duty and submission, and with those exclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving information of the state of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the several ships, his highness returned with it that night to the king, that his majesty might make alterations, and new christen those ships which too much preserved the memory of their late governors and of the republic.

239 Shortly after, the committee of lords [and commons] arrived at the Hague, where the States took care for their decent accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his majesty, who immediately received them very graciously. From the house of peers were deputed six of their body, and, according to custom, twelve from the commons. The peers were, the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex; the lords, the viscount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-castle, and the lord Brook. From the commons were sent, the lord Fairfax, the lord Bruce, the lord Falkland, the lord Castleton, the lord Herbert, the lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, sir Horatio Townsend, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, sir George Booth, sir John Holland, and sir Henry Cholmeley. These persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the parliament, that his majesty would be pleased to return, and take the government of

the kingdom into his hands, where he should find all possible affection, duty, and obedience from all his subjects. And lest his return, so much longed for, might be retarded by the want of money to discharge those debts which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the parliament the sum of fifty thousand pounds to his majesty; having likewise order to pay the sum of ten thousand pounds to the duke of York, and five thousand to the duke of Gloucester; which was a very good supply to their several necessities. And the king treated all the committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so princely and so generous a nature.

240 The city of London had [had] too great a hand in driving the king from thence, not to appear equally zealous for his return thither. And therefore they did at the same time send fourteen of their most substantial citizens to assure his majesty of their fidelity and most cheerful submission, and that they placed all their felicity, and hope of future prosperity, in the assurance of his majesty's grace and protection; for the meriting whereof, their lives and fortunes should be always at his majesty's disposal; and they presented to him from the city the sum of ten thousand pounds. The king told them he had always had a particular affection for the city of London, the place of his birth, and was very glad that they had now so good a part in his restoration, of which he was informed, and how much he was beholding to every one of them; for which he thanked them very graciously, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

241 It will hardly be believed that this money presented

to the king by the parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richest merchants in Amsterdam, who had vast estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal citizens of London, who came to the king, went themselves to solicit it, and had credit enough themselves for much greater sums, if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But this was not the first time (and of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the king, that it is not easy in that most opulent city, with the help of all the rich towns adjacent, and upon the greatest credit, to draw together a great sum of ready money, the custom of that country, which flourishes so much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by assignations, [they] having very rarely occasion for a great sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amsterdam upon their correspondents in London, for above thirty thousand pounds of the money that was assigned; all which was paid in London as soon as demanded.

242 With these committees from the parliament and from the city, there came a company of clergymen, to the number of eight or ten, who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the rest, but being the popular preachers of the city, (Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton, and others, were the most eminent of the presbyterians,) and desired to be thought to represent that party. They [entreated] to be admitted all together to have a formal audience from his majesty, where they were tedious enough in presenting their duties, and magnifying the affections of themselves and their friends, who, they said, had always, according to the obligation of their covenant, wished his majesty very well, and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duty; which they presumed his majesty had heard

had proved effectual, and been of great use to him. They thanked God for his constancy to the protestant religion, and professed that they were no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship which in their judgment who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful.

243 The king spake very kindly to them, and said [that] he had heard of their good behaviour towards him, and that he had no purpose to impose hard conditions upon them with reference to their conscience; they well knew that he had referred the settling all differences of that nature to the wisdom of the parliament, which best knew what indulgence and toleration was necessary for the peace and the quiet of the kingdom. But his majesty could not be so rid of them; but they desired several private audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, that the Book of Common Prayer had been long discontinued in England, and the people having been disused to it, and many of them having never heard it in their lives, it would be much wondered at, if his majesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of it in his own chapel, whither all persons would resort; and therefore they besought him that he would not use it so entirely and formally, and have some parts only of it read, with mixture of other good prayers, which his chaplains might use.

244 The king told them with some warmth, that whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him; that he had always used that form of service, which he thought the best in the world, and [had never discontinued it] in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them; that when he came into England, he would not much inquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not he should find it used in many; but he was sure he would have no other used

in his own chapel. Then they besought him with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of it would give great offence and scandal to the people. They found the king as inexorable in that point as in the other; [he] told them plainly, that he would not be restrained himself, when he gave others so much liberty; that it had been always held a decent habit in the church, constantly practised in England till these late ill times; that it had been still retained by him; and though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and undecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never in the least degree discountenance the good old order of the church in which he had been bred by his own practice. Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased further troubling him, in hope and presumption that they should find their importunity in England more effectual.

²⁴⁵ After eight or ten days spent at the Hague in triumphs and festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with several rich presents made to his majesty, the king took his leave of the States with all the professions of amity their civilities deserved, and embarked himself on the *Prince*, which had before been called the *Protector*, but had been new christened the day before; as many other had been, in the presence and by the order of his royal highness the admiral. And upon the 24th day of May the fleet set sail, and, in one continued thunder of the cannon, arrived so early on the 26th near Dover, that his majesty disembarked; and being received by the general at the brink of the sea, he presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury, where he stayed the next day, being Sunday, and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which was very

much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility, and other persons of quality, to present themselves to the king; and there his majesty assembled his council; and swore the general of the council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the signet, and swore him secretary of state. That day he [his majesty] gave the garter to the general, and likewise to the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before,) and sent it likewise by garter herald and king at arms to admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

²⁴⁶ On Monday he went to Rochester, and the next day, being the 29th of May, and his birthday, he entered London, all the ways from Dover thither being so full of people, and exclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered. About or above Greenwich the lord mayor and aldermen met him, with all those protestations of joy which can hardly be imagined. And the concourse [was] so great, that the king rode in a crowd from the bridge to Temple-bar; all the companies of the city stood in order on both sides, giving loud thanks [to God] for his majesty's presence. And he no sooner came to Whitehall, but the two houses of parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all the vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible and so universal, that his majesty said smilingly to some about him, that he doubted it had been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody that did not protest he had ever wished for his return.

²⁴⁷ In this wonderful manner, and with this miraculous expedition, did God put an end in one month (for it was the first of May that the king's letter was delivered to the parliament, and his majesty was at Whitehall upon

the 29th of the same month) to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of parricide, murder, and devastation, that fire and the sword, in the hands of the wickedest men in the world, could be ministers of, almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third. Yet did the merciful hand of God in one month bind up all those wounds, and even made the scars as undiscernible as in respect of their deepness was possible; and if there wanted more glorious monuments of this deliverance, posterity would know the time of it by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, who both died within three or four months, with the wonder if not the agony of this undreamed of prosperity, and as if they had taken it ill that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without their concurrence, and against all their machinations.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

AN APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF

PASSAGES FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

WHICH WERE NOT PRINTED IN THE EARLIER EDITIONS OF THE
HISTORY.

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APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

DUPLICATE ACCOUNTS AND PASSAGES ERASED
IN THE ORIGINAL MSS.

A.

Book I. par. 166. line 1. When the king found himself &c.] *The account of the king's journey into Scotland given in the text is taken from that part of the MS. which contains lord Clarendon's Life. The MS. of the History proceeds as follows :*

- 1 That which in the consequence was worse than all this, that is, which made the consequence of all the rest the worse, was, that by all the access of those vast receipts and disbursements by the people, the king's coffers were not at all, or not considerably replenished. Whether by the excess of the court, (which had not been enough contracted ;) the unaptness of ministers ; or the intentness of ministers upon their own, more than the public profit ; the maintaining great fleets at sea, more for the glory than benefit of the king, in a time of entire peace, and when his jurisdiction in the deep was not questioned, at least not contested ; or, which was a greater, and at that time thought a more unnecessary charge, the building of many great ships ; or whether the popular axiom of queen Elizabeth, that as her greatest treasure was in the hearts of her people, so she had rather her money should be in their purses than in her own exchequer, (which she never said but at the closing of some parliament, when she had gotten all she could from them,) was grown current policy ; or whether all these together contributed thereunto, I know not ; but I am sure, the oversight or the misfortune proved very fatal. For as the crown never advanced

itself by any remarkable attempt that depended wholly upon the bounty of the people, so it never suffered from abroad or at home when the exchequer was plentifully supplied, what circumstances soever had accompanied or attended that plenty. And without doubt, if such provision had been made, the disjointed affections and dispositions of that time had not been so apt to lay hold and countenance the first interruption : and the first possible opportunity of interruption they did lay hold of.

- 2 About the year 1634 (there being as great a serenity in England as had been ever known) the king visited his native kingdom of Scotland, where he had not been (otherwise than in his princely favours, which he had every day showered upon them) since he was two years old, and with much magnificence and splendour was crowned there ; and amongst other ceremonies was assured, (which, it is true, they had reason to believe would be very acceptable to his majesty,) that they would, for their decency and union in God's service, receive a set form and liturgy, if his majesty would be pleased to enjoin it to them : and about the year 1637 such a liturgy was sent to them, with canons and orders for their church government. Whether that liturgy was compiled with care and circumspection, whether it were recommended to the people with discretion and prudence, or whether the people were prepared by due circumstances to receive it ; whether the bishops of that kingdom or this were more passionate and unskilful in the prosecution than for the time they ought to have been ; or whether the supreme ministers of state employed and trusted by the king there were friends to the church, and so concerned enough in the disorders in the bud, I determine not ; but leave all men to their own judgments, upon the books of that time, written by both parties, and still extant. Sure it is, it was so far from a general reception, that occasion was from thence taken to unite the whole nation in a covenant against it ; and when so much way was given to their fury, as that both liturgy and canons were laid by, and assurance given that neither should be pressed upon them, the animosity continued, and grew so great against the church, that nothing would satisfy them but a total abolition of bishops throughout that kingdom : for the better compassing whereof, all things were prepared there for a war ; colonel Lesley, a man of good command formerly under the king of Sweden, and distasted here, (that is, denied

somewhat he had a mind to have, which was always to that people the highest injury,) chosen to be their general; and all provisions of arms and ammunition from foreign parts, and horses from the north of England, were procured with all possible care and diligence. To chastise these insolencies, and to preserve his interest in that kingdom, visibly then in issue, his majesty raised an army, fit for the quarrel, and about May, in the year 1639, advanced in person towards the north; having sent before the earl of Essex, lieutenant general of his army, to secure Berwick: which he did with very great diligence and dexterity.

- 3 The pomp of this journey of his majesty (for it was rather like a progress than a march) was the first error committed, and was in truth the ground of all the errors and misfortunes that ensued. His majesty had summoned all the nobility of England to attend upon him in this expedition; which increased his train, but added nothing to his strength. Whether the ground of that counsel was an apprehension that the indisposition of the people might attempt somewhat in his absence, and so that it were safest to have the great men with him; or whether there were an opinion and intention of raising money upon those who would buy their ease, and so be excused from that trouble and expense; or whether it was thought the drawing all the nobility together in that manner would look more like a union of this nation in the quarrel, and so make the greater impression upon that, I could yet never learn: but affairs do only succeed well, when willing instruments are engaged in the prosecution; and he that is used against his inclination is not to be trusted in a capacity of doing hurt. At the first rendezvous at York it was thought fit to unite the court and army by a counter-covenant, to be taken by every person, for the defence of the king, and to renounce any intelligence with the enemy. This being taken by all the rest of the nobility was absolutely refused by the lord Say and the lord Brooke, who were thereupon committed to prison, and so freed from farther attendance. By this time it was very visible that the factious and discontented party in England had close correspondence with those covenanters; to which purpose Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the lord Say, was then in Scotland, making it his way home from the Low Countries: and the defection of that nation was so entire, that, saving some few persons of honour, (whose friends, children, and

allies were likewise in rebellion,) there were no Scotchmen in the court or army. The king advanced beyond Berwick three miles upon the river of Tweed, where he pitched his camp, being above sixteen thousand horse and foot, which (if a number of lords and gentlemen, unwillingly brought thither, had been away) had been a very good army. Whether the Scots were at that time ready to have received such a strength, or whether they were in truth ever after strong enough to have encountered it, I cannot say, having heard several persons, who might be presumed to know much, severally discourse it; and therefore I shall neither now or hereafter mention the actions or affairs of that kingdom more than is absolutely necessary to continue the thread of this relation, and then in such particulars as I have had a clear knowledge or a clear information in, the main being fit for a work by itself, and a workman more conversant in the mysteries of that people. Certain it is, from the time that the Scotch army (such as it was) drew near the borders, the purpose and desire of fighting every day lessened in ours; the nobility and gentry working so much upon the soldier, that his majesty found it necessary to entertain the first overture of a treaty, which was almost as soon concluded as begun, and thereupon both armies disbanded; his majesty intending, and having so declared, to be himself shortly with his parliament in Scotland to put an end and determination to all particulars: sending in the mean time the marquis of Hamilton (who had been the only person trusted by his majesty in that grand affair) thither. The resolution for his majesty's personal repair into Scotland, which should have been within twenty days after the pacification, was quickly altered, and the earl of Traquair, then lord treasurer of that kingdom, sent thither to hold the parliament as his majesty's commissioner, the king himself returning by ordinary journeys in progress to London. This alteration, which they presently called a receding from the agreement, gave them a very great advantage, and was very prejudicial to the king; and if he had gone thither in person, he would very probably have disposed them to a reasonable conformity, (for they had both the terror of the army they had seen so near them, and the trouble and charge of their own, before them,) or have broken upon some accident or new occasion, which might have been no reproach to the former counsels at the pacification:

whereas, as it fell out, the rupture seemed to proceed from a review of the same considerations and conclusions; and so was thought a tax upon the former counsellors, who, the more they had reason to be ashamed of what they had advised, had the more reason to be angry at contrary resolutions. That which in truth was and reasonably might be the ground of that alteration from the king's going thither, was an apprehension of danger to his person, or rather, that his residence there might be compelled to be longer than either was necessary or he had a mind to make it: and infusions of this nature can only be broken through by the magnanimity of the prince himself; for where there is the least hint of his safety, the most bold seems the least careful; and so all men conform their counsels, let the reason be what it will, and the necessity what it will, (for where great enterprises are to be undertaken great hazards are to be run,) to what is most secure, rather than to what is most fit. Experience tells us, worse could not have befallen than hath happened: and therefore (if for no other reason) we may soberly believe, his presence there, at that time that was designed, would have produced better effects, both in that kingdom and in this; which upon the commerce of that treaty began to continue the traffick of intelligence.

- 4 Next to his majesty's not going, the sending the earl of Traquaire as his commissioner was thought by many of the worst consequence; for though he was a wise man, (the wisest to my understanding that I have known of that nation,) he was not a man of interest and power with the people, but of some prejudice; and though he might be solicitous enough for that which he thought his master's sovereignty against that anarchy the people's fury seemed to set up, yet he was not thought at all a friend to the church, but rather to connive at many extravagances and exorbitances, (even after the time of his commission,) to the end that an alteration in the ecclesiastical might seem the more reasonable price for a reformation and restauration in the temporal state; though I know he dissembled that inclination so well, that he procured and received that trust under the notion especially of being a stickler for, if not a patron of the bishops: wherever the fault or misfortune was, nothing succeeded in that parliament according to expectation; and the earl, without dissolving it, returned into England, leaving them

sitting, choosing immediately a commissioner themselves in the king's right, and shortly after summoning the castle of Edinburgh (which was honestly and stoutly defended and kept by general Ruther for the king) to be delivered into their hands.

- 5 The fire brake not out faster in Scotland, than the resolution was taken in England by some more prosperous attempt to repair the faults of the last summer, and either to reform or reduce that people, upon a full representation of the state of those affairs at the council-board, shortly after the king's return to London, by marquis Hamilton, who came since the raising a new army was intended with all vigour and expedition; and men being now at a greater distance from danger, the advice was not less unanimous for a new war than it had three months before been for the pacification; (a proclamation issuing out by the full advice of the lords of the council for the public burning the articles of the pacification;) though they were willing shortly after to lay the guilt of this counsel upon three or four men, who bore the burden, and paid the price of the misfortune. The lord Wentworth, then deputy of Ireland, was about that time here, and to him the advice was acknowledged of calling a parliament, whereby his majesty might be enabled to wage that war. Whoever gave the counsel, the resolution was taken in December, 1639, for the calling a parliament in April following; to which purpose writs immediately issued out, to the singular and universal joy of the people. The deputy of Ireland, having with marvellous dexterity, between December and April, passed into Ireland, called a parliament in that kingdom, procured four subsidies to be given, and a declaration very frankly made against the Scots, formed an army of eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be ready within three months to march into Scotland; and returned hither again before the day of the meeting, which was on the 13th of April, 1640; when, with the usual full solemnity, his majesty came to Westminster, and acquainted the lords and commons, that he had principally called them thither to assist him against the rebellion of his subjects of Scotland; and informed them of many particulars in that business; very earnestly pressing despatch, in respect of the season of the year, the forwardness of the preparations in Scotland, and their activity with foreign princes; there being then a letter produced, signed by many noblemen of Scotland, amongst whom the lord

Lowden (then a prisoner in the Tower of London for that offence) was one, to the king of France, in plain and express words desiring relief and protection from him against their native king. That parliament, assembled on the 13th of April, (as I said before,) was, to the extreme grief and amazement of all good men, dissolved the fifth of May following, being in truth as composed and as well disposed a house, as, I believe, had met together in any time; and there having never passed the least action or word of irreverence or disrespect towards his majesty during the time they continued together. A better instance cannot be given of their modesty and temper, than that a member of the house of commons (Mr. Peard, who brought himself afterwards to a bolder dialect) was forced to explain, that is, no less than to recant, for saying, in a frank debate of our grievances, that ship-money was an abomination; which was within seven months voted little less than treason. It will be very little time spent to look over the particular passages in that short parliament; which when we have done, we shall conclude the evil genius of the kingdom wrought that dissolution which was the most immediate cause (that is, the contrary had been the most immediate cure) of all that hath since gone amiss. Within few days after the beginning, at a conference between both houses in the painted chamber, the lords (as the whole subject-matter of that conference) desired the commons, with all possible speed, to enter upon the consideration of supply, by way of subsidy; which was no sooner reported in the house, but resented, as a great breach of privilege, that business of supply and subsidy being, by the fundamental rules of parliament, always to begin in the house of commons. More time was not spent, nor more warmth expressed, in this debate, than might have been reasonably expected. The king afterwards, by a message delivered in the house of commons by sir H. Vane, (then secretary of state, and treasurer of the household,) again pressed a supply; and offered, for twelve subsidies, to quit any claim he had to ship-money for the time to come; (that tax of ship-money being at that time levying throughout the kingdom;) a great instance of the prosperity the court at that time took itself to be in. This message was delivered on Saturday the 2d of May, about ten of the clock in the morning, and the debate thereof was continued till four of the clock that afternoon; which was then thought

an extraordinary matter, the house usually in those times, and by the course of parliament, rising at twelve. The subject of the debate was upon three particulars. First, for the house to be pressed in matter of money in the beginning, before any redress was given, or so much as a consultation entered upon of those pressures and grievances which had been sustained for at least a dozen years, seemed very unusual: and though the time of the year, and the activity of the Scots, were urged as motives to expedition, it was as obvious, that the season of the year was an argument rather made than found, and that it had been as easy to have had the parliament the 13th of March as the 13th of April; and therefore that consideration rather administered matter of jealousy than satisfaction to equal and indifferent persons. Secondly, men were somewhat startled to hear a composition proposed (setting aside the proportion, which was then thought prodigious) for ship-money, which they expected should have been disclaimed in the point of right, and were sure would be declared against in the first debate: and they who out of several considerations had been always content to pay it, were nevertheless as unwilling, by making a purchase of it, to confess what they never believed, especially since they who had declared it to be a right, (the judges,) had likewise declared it to be a right so inherent in the crown, that even an act of parliament could not dissolve it. I mention not the discourses upon the proportion of twelve subsidies, proposed as a recompense, and required to be paid in three years; five the first, four the second, and three the third year; which was then sadly alleged by grave men to be more than the stock of the kingdom could bear in so short a time; and without doubt was so believed: but we are reformed in that learning, and find, that, besides all violence by the soldiers, and extraordinaries by fines and delinquency, the very contribution, settled and cheerfully submitted to in most counties, amount to above forty subsidies in a year; which is only an argument that the wealth of the kingdom was much greater than it was understood to be. Thirdly, though there was not then any declared faction for the Scots, nor in truth any visible inclination to them, yet the demanding a supply in that manner, and always upon that ground, to raise an army against the Scots, looked like an engagement in and for the war; which reasonably could not be expected from men

to whom no particulars of those affairs had been communicated. And as the same was craftily insinuated by men who, it may be, were favourers of their proceedings; so the consideration of it took place, or at least made pauses, in the most sober men, and made them wish that the supply had been only desired, without giving other reason than the general occasions. But that had not so well complied with the ends of the king, who, it may be, looked upon the united declaration of both houses against the Scots as more in order towards the preventing a war, than all the supply they were like to give him would be to support it; but this was fitter to be wished than attempted: yet in all this debate there was not the least objection made against the war, nor excuse made for the Scots; only one member cast out an envious word, that he heard it was *bellum episcopale*. This debate (the gravest, and most void of passion, and the fullest of reason and ingenuity that ever I have known) upon those three weighty points took up Saturday and Monday, and about six of the clock at night was adjourned till Tuesday morning, the temper and inclination of the house (for I speak of the house of commons, the work was upon them) being most apparent presently to consent to give subsidies, though the number proposed was not like to be agreed unto. But on Tuesday morning, his majesty, having sent for the speaker before the sitting of the house, and carried him with him to Westminster, sent for both houses, and dissolved them, to the most astonishing grief of all good men that I ever beheld. Though it was as observable, that those who have been the greatest promoters of the troubles and ruin we have since suffered, were the most visibly satisfied and delighted with that morning's work that can be imagined: and one of them, of principal reckoning, observing a cloudiness in me, bade me be of good comfort; all would go well; for things must be worse before they could be better.

- 6 The ground and reason of that counsel, for dissolving the parliament, (for the resolution was taken in full and solemn council,) was upon a misrepresentation of the temper and disposition of the house by sir Harry Vane, who confidently averred, that they would not give a subsidy; but instead thereof would pass some such vote against ship-money, and other acts of power, as would render those courses, and so the benefits accruing from thence, for the future more difficult: which was a

strange averment from a person who had been the only cause that a supply was not voted the day before, by his hindering such a question to be put, and affirming with much passion, that to his knowledge fewer subsidies than were proposed by his majesty, and paid in any other manner than was proposed, would be absolutely rejected by him; which was most contrary to the instructions he had received. Whether this unheard of boldness in the one place and the other proceeded from any intelligence or combination with that faction whose ends were advanced by it, (his son lying then in the bosom of those people;) or whether in truth he thought himself less secure, having trod those high ways as furiously as any; or whether his contracted venom and malice against the earl of Strafford obliged him to endeavour to dissolve it, and thereby to reproach the council of convening it; or whether a mixture of all these, as this last might naturally beget a greater compliance with the first, and a greater solicitation upon the second consideration, I determine not: but observed it was, and very worthy to be observed it is, that though the dissolution of that parliament [w]as the ground or cause of all the mischief that followed, and therefore always inserted as the most odious aggravation in the highest charge against any man they meant to destroy, as against the earl of Strafford and the archbishop of Canterbury, yet they never proceeded in the examination and proof of that part, which they could have done as well as they did in more secret discoveries, if they had not known it would most have concerned some to whom they meant not to be severe: and though this connivance might have been in the archbishop's trial, upon the merit of his late services and sufferings, yet at the time of the earl of Strafford's arraignment (which was before notice taken of the robbing of the cabinet) it could not have been forborne, especially when it might possibly have added somewhat to his guilt, which might have been thought necessary to be improved by such an unpopular addition, if it had not been for some extraordinary service, which was not then acknowledged. However, it seemed strange to many standers by, that this untrue information given by sir Harry Vane could produce so fatal a resolution, when there were two other counsellors then of the house, besides many other persons of honour and interest, whose testimony might have been equally considered: which no doubt it would have been, if

it had been as confidently alleged, and if the other's undertaking had not received much confirmation and credit by the concurrence of sir Edward Herbert, then solicitor general, a man that gives as much reason to other men, and as little to himself, as most I know.

7 The hopes and expectation of money and assistance from that parliament being determined, the lords of the council (according to their declaration at that meeting, when the summoning a parliament was agreed upon in December before, that if by any refractoriness in that convention, the king should not receive the fruit and aid he purposed, they would assist him any extraordinary way) gave direction for the more vigorous execution of the writ, and instructions for ship-money; committed some members of the late parliament for somewhat said or done there; and searched the chambers and closets of others, (which always gave credit to the persons, never contributed to the work in hand, whatever it was,) and for a foundation of raising an army, which the preparations in Scotland, and the proceedings there, (for they had taken in or besieged all the castles which were in the hands of men trusted by the king,) made very necessary. The lords themselves undertook presently to lend great sums of money to his majesty, many, twenty thousand pounds apiece, and by their example to invite (and the invitation of such examples was well understood) other men to do the like: and to that purpose all great officers, and all men notoriously known to have money, or to be able to procure any, were sent for and treated with at the council table; by which means in very few days near three hundred thousand pounds were not only promised, (which gave present reputation to the action,) but really paid into the exchequer.

A general was appointed, &c. as in book 2, par. 81.

B.

II. 80. *last line.* if it had been offered.] *In the MS. of the Life the account is thus continued:*

The man whom the king designed for his general was the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, (the government whereof was for that time committed to a deputy,) a man, though not bred a soldier, who had been in armies, and besides being a very wise man, had great courage, and was martially inclined. And it may be the greatest motive was, his known displeasure and dis-

dain of the Scots, and of their insolent behaviour. But the earl chose rather to serve as lieutenant-general under the earl of Northumberland, believing that the conferring that preference upon him would more firmly fasten him to the king's interest, and that his power in the northern parts would bring great advantage to the king's service. And so the earl of Northumberland was made general, who immediately after fell into a great sickness; and the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, who at the very time was much indisposed with the gout. But by a joint consent they thought they had well provided for the worst in making choice of the lord Conway to be general, &c. *as in par. 81, l. 2.*

C.

II. 89, l. 26. assured—Newcastle.] *These words are interlined in the MS. and are not in the handwriting of lord Clarendon. The following words, which are in the handwriting of lord Clarendon, are crossed out in the MS.*

made it generally believed that he was corrupted by some friends at home, if not by the enemy abroad; and that he was never publicly questioned for it, that is, judicially, for he was exposed to all the public reproaches imaginable, was imputed to the spreading of that corruption into many other officers and parts of the army, and to the distraction of the time that immediately ensued, when no order or discipline was observed, but every thing was done according to the humour and presumption of the doer; and it seemed, &c. *as in par. 90, line 1.*

D.

III. 1. The parliament met] *The MS. of the History proceeds as follows:*

At the opening of the parliament, (which was on the third day of November, 1640,) the king very frankly delivered himself to the lords and commons, that he put his whole affairs into their hands, and was resolved to follow their advice, both in order to an agreement with the Scots, and in repairing the grievances at home, which he confessed the necessities of the time had brought upon his people. All those, whether in church or state, he was willing should be removed, and desired that all things might be reduced to the good order and practice of the days of queen Elizabeth; which to the people of England were

sure looked upon with the greatest reverence : and so left them, the house of commons being in the first place to choose their speaker. And in this first entrance there was an ill accident, (though then by many not valued, by wise men considered as of great moment, and an ill presage.) As soon as his majesty had resolved upon the calling of a parliament, he considered of a fit speaker, (the election of whom in all times had been by the designation of the king,) and resolved upon sir Thomas Gardiner, then recorder of London, a man very affectionate to his service, and very fit to have moderated in such an assembly. This was no sooner known, (which according to custom was as soon published as resolved, that he might make his provisions accordingly,) than the leaders of that people expressed much trouble at it; presuming he would never be induced to comply with their purposes; and used their utmost endeavours to keep him from being returned a member of the house, without which it was not possible to be chosen speaker. So, in the election of the four members for the city of London, they carried it, that he was rejected; which affront had been seldom offered to their recorder. Then they so wrought upon the earl of Pembroke, whose interest in many places was so great, that many burgesses were chosen by his recommendation, that notwithstanding he was a person of near trust with that earl, and promised a place by him, he was likewise there disappointed: so that the morning before the appearance of the lords and commons, (which was to be in the afternoon,) sir Thomas Gardiner, being not returned a member, the king was put to a new consideration for a speaker; and was in that sudden distress persuaded to design Mr. Lenthall, (a lawyer of good practice, and no ill affections, but a very weak man, and unequal to such a task,) who was accordingly chosen speaker, and afterwards in the usual form presented to his majesty, and by him accepted. These ceremonies were no sooner over, than the house of commons (which meant to govern) fell briskly to their business, and spent the two first days in very sharply discussing the general state of the kingdom; mentioned the miscarriages in church and state with great bitterness; and the third day, after a debate of seven or eight hours, resolved to accuse the earl of Strafford of high treason. Though the earl was as unloved a person in that house as can be imagined, yet there wanted not some, who desired, for the

dignity of the house, that a charge of so high a nature, against a person not like to be easily oppressed, should be very warily weighed and considered. On the other side, it was confidently undertaken that an impeachment should within few days be brought in, by which his guilt would be very manifest. In the mean time the ground and necessity of their proceeding they declared to be these: that the earl had an intention, and endeavoured to overthrow the fundamental government of the kingdom by the law, and to introduce an arbitrary power; and to that purpose, that he had an army ready in Ireland, which should have been brought over into this kingdom, which some persons undertook upon their reputations to prove, though (they said) the particulars at that time were not fit for many reasons to be discovered. Then many exorbitant speeches and actions in England and Ireland, said and done by him, were remembered. But two particulars, one as a ground, the other as a reason, were especially given, for the speedy accusing him of high treason, which prevailed over many. ^aTo those who were known to have no kindness for him, and seemed to doubt whether all the particulars alleged, being proved, would amount to high treason, it was alleged, that the house of commons were not judges, but only accusers; and that the lords were the proper judges, whether such a complication of enormous crimes in one person did not amount to the highest offence the law took notice of; and therefore that it was fit to present it to them. In the next place, that it was most necessary immediately to accuse him of high treason, by which probably the lords would think fit to remove him from the king's presence: whereas, if that were not, his interest and activity was such, as he would be able to render all their good endeavours for the commonwealth fruitless. With these reasons, and the warmth of six or seven hours' debate, in which many instances were given of most extravagant power exercised by him, (which being so unlike any thing they had before heard of, men the more easily called treason,) it was concluded, that an accusation of high treason should be immediately sent up against him; which was by Mr. Pym (accompanied by very many of the house of commons) carried

^a At this part of the manuscript of the History is a mark apparently by lord Clarendon, answering to a similar mark in that of the Life, directing

that this paragraph should be, as it is, inserted in that particular part of the history. See book iii. par. 9.

up to the lords' bar about four of the clock in the afternoon, that house sitting then by instinct, though the doors of the house of commons had been shut, and no member suffered to go out during the whole agitation. The accusation was no sooner delivered, and the messengers retired to expect an answer, than the earl (who came in that article into the house) was commanded to withdraw, and presently brought to the bar on his knees, and from thence committed to prison to the gentleman usher of the black rod, without so much as a pause, whether a bare accusation of treason, without any particular charge, were ground enough to commit a member of their own body; which was not then thought fit to be doubted.

[*The following relation of the proceedings of the house of commons, with respect to the lord keeper Finch and archbishop Laud, is copied from the MS. of the Life, p. 105.*]

- 2 It began now to be observed, that all the public professions of a general reformation, and redress of all the grievances the kingdom suffered under, were contracted into a sharp and extraordinary prosecution of one person they had accused of high treason, and within some bitter mention of the archbishop; that there was no thought of dismissing the two armies, which were the capital grievance and insupportable burden to the whole nation; and that instead of questioning others, who were looked upon as the causes of greater mischief than either of those they professed so much displeasure against, they privately laboured, by all their offices, to remove all prejudice towards, at least all thoughts of prosecution for, their transgressions; and so that they had blanched all sharp and odious mention of ship-money, because it could hardly be touched without some reflection upon the lord Finch, who had acted so odious a part in it, and who, since the meeting in the great council at York, had rendered himself very gracious to them, as a man who would facilitate many things to them, and therefore fit to be preserved and protected. Whereupon the lord Falkland took notice of the business of ship-money, and very sharply mentioned the lord Finch as the principal promoter of it; and that being then a sworn judge of the law, he had not only given his own judgment against law, but been the solicitor to corrupt all the other

judges to concur with him in their opinion : and concluded, that no man ought to be more severely prosecuted than he. It was very visible that the leading men were much troubled at this discourse, and desired to divert it ; some of them proposing, in regard we had very much great business upon our hands, and in necessary preparation, we should not embrace too much together, but suspend the debate of ship-money for some time, till we could be more vacant to pursue it ; and so were ready to pass to some other matter. Upon which Mr. Hyde insisted upon what the lord Falkland had said, there was a particular of a very extraordinary nature, which ought to be examined without delay, because the delay would probably make the future examination to no purpose. And therefore proposed, that immediately, whilst the house was sitting, a small committee might be appointed, who, dividing themselves into the number of two and two, might visit all the judges, and ask them apart, in the name of the house, what messages the lord Finch, when he was chief justice of the court of common pleas, had brought to them from the king in the business of ship-money, and whether he had not solicited them to give judgment for the king in that case. Which motion was so generally approved by the house, that a committee of eight, whereof himself was one, was presently sent out of the house, to visit the several judges, most whereof were at their chambers. And justice Crook, and some other of the judges, being surprised with the questions, and pressed earnestly to make clear and categorical answers, ingeniously acknowledged, that the lord chief justice Finch had frequently, whilst that matter was depending, earnestly solicited them to give their judgments for the king, and often used his majesty's name to them, as if he expected that compliance from them. The committee, which had divided themselves to attend the several judges, agreed to meet at a place appointed, to communicate the substance of what they had been informed, and agree upon the method of their report to the house, which they could not make till the next morning, it being about ten of the clock when they were sent out of the house.

- 3 That committee was no sooner withdrawn, which consisted of all men of more temperate spirits than the principal leaders were possessed with, but, without any occasion given by any debate, or coherence with any thing proposed or mentioned, an

obscure person inveighed bitterly against the archbishop of Canterbury; and there having been a very angry vote passed the house two days before, upon a sudden debate of the canons which had been made by the convocation, after the dissolution of the last parliament, (a season in which the church could not reasonably hope to do any thing that would find acceptance,) upon which debate they had declared by a vote that those canons were against the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and property of the subject; and that they contained divers other things, tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence; Mr. Grimston took occasion, from what was said of the archbishop, to put them in mind of their vote upon the canons; and said, that the presumption in sitting after the dissolution of the parliament, contrary to custom, if not contrary to law, and the framing and contriving all those canons, which contained so much sedition, was all to be imputed to the archbishop; that the Scots had required justice against him for his being a chief incendiary and cause of the war between the two nations; that this kingdom looked upon him as the author of all those innovations in the church which were introductive to popery, and as a joint contriver with the earl of Strafford to involve the nation in slavery: and therefore proposed that he might be presently accused of high treason, to the end that he might be sequestered from council, and no more repair to the presence of the king, with whom he had so great credit, that the earl of Strafford himself could not do more mischief by his counsels or infusions. This motion was no sooner made but seconded and thirded, and found such a general acceptance, that without considering that of all the envious particulars whereof he stood reproached there was no one action which amounted to treason, they forthwith voted that it should be so, and immediately promoted Mr. Grimston to the message; who presently went up to the house of peers; and being called in, in the name of all the commons of England accused the archbishop of Canterbury of high treason, and other misdemeanours: and concluded in the same style they had used in the case of the lord lieutenant of Ireland. Upon which the poor archbishop (who stoutly professed his innocence) was brought to the bar upon his knees, and thence committed to the custody of Maxwell, the gentleman usher of the black rod, (from whence the earl of Strafford had been sent

few days before to the Tower;) where he remained many months before they brought in a particular charge against him.

- 4 Notwithstanding which brisk proceeding against the archbishop, when the committee the next morning made their report of what the several judges had said concerning the lord Finch, they were wonderfully indisposed to hear any thing against him: and though many spake with great sharpness of him, and how fit it was to prosecute him in the same method and by the same logic they had proceeded with the other two; yet they required more particulars to be formally set down of his miscarriage, and made another committee to take further examinations, in which committee Mr. Hyde likewise was. And when the report was made, within few days, of several very high and imperious miscarriages, besides what related to ship-money, upon a motion made by a young gentleman of the same family, who pretended to have received a letter from the lord keeper, in which he desired to have leave to speak in the house, before they would determine any thing against him, the debate was suspended for the present, and liberty given him to be there, if he pleased, the next day. At which time, having likewise obtained the permission of the peers to do what he thought good for himself, he appeared at the bar; said all he could for his own excuse, more in magnifying the sincerity of his religion, and how kind he had been to many preachers, whom he named, and whom he knew were of precious memory with the unconformitable party; and concluded with a lamentable supplication for their mercy. It was about nine of the clock in the morning when he went out of the house: and when the debate could no longer be deferred what was to be done upon him, and when the sense of the house appeared very evidently, notwithstanding all that was said to the contrary, by those eminent persons who promoted all other accusations with the utmost fury, that he should be accused of high treason in the same form the other two had been, they persisted still so long in the debate, and delayed the putting the question, by frequent interruptions, (a common artifice,) till it was twelve of the clock, and till they knew that the house of peers was risen, (which they were likewise easily disposed to, to gratify the keeper;) and then the question was put, and carried in the affirmative, with very few negatives; and the lord Falkland appointed to carry up the

accusation to the house of peers ; which they knew he could not do till the next morning : and when he did it the next morning, it appeared that the lord Finch had sent the great seal the night before, and wise[ly] withdrawn himself ; and was soon after known to be in Holland.

- 5 There was another accident about the same time, very memorable, and fit to be inserted in this place : the raising as much jealousy as was possible against the papists, and making them as odious and as formidable, was a principal part of the design, and was to serve for several purposes, and so was a part of every day's exercise. The voluntary collection and contribution made by them, upon the queen's recommendation, upon the king's first expedition against the Scots, was urged, with all the bold reflections which could be made upon that argument ; the public resort to Somerset-house, to hear mass ; the late perversion of some persons of honour to the Romish religion ; the reception of Con, and after him of Rosetti, (who was then about the court, or newly gone,) under a formal commission from the pope to the queen ; and the liberty given to all Jesuits and priests to resort into the kingdom, and to exercise their functions here, was a part of every set discourse that was made. And as much of this was intentionally to reflect upon secretary Windebank, (who lay under the reproach of favouring and protecting the Roman catholics, and for that and many other reasons was very unpopular ;) so an unlucky occasion brought him quickly upon the stage, which administered somewhat of mirth. There was one Stockdale, a messenger of the chamber, whose office is to wait upon the secretaries of state, and to be sent and employed by them, who was notorious for his zeal against the Romish priests, and for a great dexterity in the discovery and apprehension of them. This man had come to the secretary for his warrant to carry one to some prison, who he said was a priest, who did pervert very many, and of a very turbulent nature, and did much mischief ; that he knew where he lay, and to what place he most resorted ; and so with great pains and diligence apprehended him, and would carry him to the gaol as soon as he had his honour's warrant ; the man presuming that he should have been very welcome to the secretary for the discovery. But he quickly found the contrary ; for the secretary in much passion called him bloodsucker, and told him he was a fellow taken notice of to

be of great cruelty, and to lie in wait for the blood of honest men, who lived quietly, and gave no offence, and forbade him to trouble him more in such occasions: upon which the terrified messenger was well content his prisoner should go whither he would. Some months after, the priest was arrested, and taken in execution for a greater debt than he was able, or his friends willing to pay for him, and so put into prison, there being no suspicion that he was a priest. But his friends apprehended that discovery would be quickly made, and that he would be then prosecuted with the utmost severity, (he being a very active man, and obnoxious above others;) and so resorted to the secretary, to lament the poor man's condition, and to bespeak his favour, if the worst should happen. The secretary sent for Stockdale, and asked him what was become of such a priest, who was his prisoner: he answered him, that his honour had been so angry with him for the apprehension of him, that he durst no longer detain him, and so had suffered him to dispose of himself. The secretary replied, that answer would not serve his turn; that he had not been angry with him for his apprehension; but he remembered that he had spoken with him about it at a time that he was very busy upon some despatch the king had enjoined him, and so was unwilling to be interrupted, and might possibly from thence speak angrily to him. That he had received new information that that priest was a dangerous man, and therefore that he should be very solicitous to find him, and take him into his custody; which if he should fail to do, he would commit him to gaol for suffering him to escape; for, having been his prisoner, he was to answer for him; and he knew what a priest was by the law, and consequently what would become of him for discharging him. The poor messenger, thus terrified, said he would use all the means he could to find him out; and within a short time had intelligence (as there never want false brothers to make those discoveries) that the man was in such a prison; where he found him, and seized upon him as his prisoner. And the keeper of the prison, when he knew he was a priest, and sent for by a secretary of state, suffered him to take him away; who went with great joy to the secretary with his prisoner; who commended his diligence, and told him he would take care to lay the man fast enough from running away: and the messenger being so discharged, the

prisoner was likewise left to look better to himself. It was not long before the creditor, at whose suit the priest had been taken in execution, missed his debtor ; and thereupon brought his action against the gaoler for an escape ; and he for his own indemnity sued the messenger for rescuing his prisoner ; and the messenger complained by petition to the house of commons, and set out the whole proceedings. The petition was very acceptable, and read with great delight : and the secretary himself, being then in the house, and hearing it read, gave so ill an account of himself, (as he was a bashful speaker,) that he was called upon to withdraw ; and so, according to custom, retired into the committee-chamber : and the house was scarce entered upon the consideration how they should proceed against him, when a message came from the house of peers for a present conference ; which being consented to, the house was adjourned : and the conference taking up some time, the house being resumed, the managers desired time till the morning to make their report : and thereupon the house resolved to rise, and adjourned accordingly ; friends and enemies being well contented to suspend for the present any further proceeding against the secretary ; who took the opportunity, as soon as the house was up, to go to his own house. And knowing well that the house meant not to give him over, and that the committee, who had made inquiry into his actions, were furnished with many grievous particulars which he knew not how to answer, and amongst the rest, that they had in their hands, which the keeper of Newgate had delivered to them, some warrants under his hand for the discharge and release of one or more priests after they were attainted, and after judgment had been given against them, which must have been very penal to him, it being neither of his office nor in his power to grant such warrants, nor in the gaoler's to have obeyed them ; which he had done ; and so the men escaped : and so he lost no time in withdrawing himself : so that when the house sent for him, he was not [to] be found ; and within few days it was known that he was landed at Calais. And so, within less than two months from the first day of their sitting, the parliament had accused and imprisoned the two greatest ministers of state, the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord lieutenant of Ireland, under a charge of high treason ; forced the lord keeper of the great seal and the principal secretary of state, to avoid the penalty of the like charge, to leave

their offices and the kingdom, and to fly into foreign parts; terrified all the privy council, and very many of the nobility and of the most considerable gentlemen of the kingdom, with their votes upon commitments and decrees of the star-chamber, and upon lord lieutenants and deputies lieutenants; and frightened the bishops and all the cathedral clergy with their arraignment of the canons. So that it was no wonder that nobody appeared with courage enough to provoke them by any contradiction.

E.

III. 55. *last line*, for his stamp.] *After this, in the MS. of the History, is found the following short account of the state of parties in both houses, of which a more full description has been given from the MS. of the Life in book III. par. 24, &c.*

The council table being by this new doctrine and these new doctors rendered useless to the king, the fate of all things depended upon the two houses, and therefore it will not be amiss to take a view of the persons by whose arts and interests the rest were disposed, the lesser wheels moving entirely by their virtue and impulsion. In the lords' house the earls of Essex, Bedford, Warwick, the lords Say and Kimbolton, were the governing voices, attended by Brooke, Wharton, Paget, and such like. In the house of commons Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, Mr. St. John, Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Fiennes, absolutely governed, being stoutly seconded upon all occasions by Mr. Strode, sir John Hotham, (whom his hatred to the earl of Strafford, and his having been a dexterous sheriff in the collecting of ship-money, had firmly united to that party,) sir Walter Earle, young sir Harry Vane, and many others of the same tempers and dispositions; but truly, I am persuaded, whatever design, either of alteration or reformation, was yet formed, I mean in the beginning of the parliament, was only communicated between the earl of Bedford, the lords Say and Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, Mr. Fiennes, and Mr. St. John; who, together with the earl of Rothes and the lord Lowden, (of the Scots commissioners,) managed and carried it on; and that neither the earl of Essex, Warwick, nor Brooke himself, no, nor Mr. Hollis or Strode, or any of the rest, were otherwise trusted than upon occasion, and made use of according to their several

gifts : but there was yet no manner of difficulty in swaying and guiding the affections of men ; all having brought resolution and animosity enough against the excesses and exorbitancies that had been exercised in the former government, and dislike enough to the persons guilty of the same, and not yet discerning that there was any other intention than of a just and regular proceeding and reformation upon both. All things going on thus smoothly within the walls, and succeeding according to wish, it was requisite to feel the pulse of the people, and to discover how they stood inclined, and how far, upon any emergent occasion, they might be relied on ; and for that purpose a pregnant opportunity was offered.

There had been three persons, &c. *as in par.* 58, l. 1.

F.

III. 57. *last line*, of which classis of men scarce any age can afford three such.] *The following account of Pryn and his associates is taken from the MS. of the Life :*

There cannot be a better instance of the unruly and mutinous spirit of the city of London, which was the sink of all the ill humour of the kingdom, than the triumphant entry which some persons at that time made into London, who had been before seen upon pillories, and stigmatized as libellous and infamous offenders : of which classis of men scarce any age can afford three such as Pryn, a lawyer, Bastwick, a physician, and Burton, a preacher in a parish of London, names very well known to that time ; who had been all severely sentenced in the star-chamber, at several times, for publishing seditious books against the court, and the government of church and state : and having undergone the penalties inflicted upon them by those sentences, continued the same practice still, in the prisons where they were kept, and still sent out the most bitter and virulent libels against the church, and the persons of the most eminent bishops, that their malice could invent. For which, being again brought into the star-chamber, *ore tenus*, they with great impudence acknowledged what they were charged with, and said they would justify the truth of all they had said or writ, and demanded that none of the bishops, who, they said, were parties, and their declared enemies, might sit in the court as their judges ; and committed many insolencies, which enough pro-

voked the court to be severe to them; which, upon a day set apart only for that debate, with great solemnity most of the lords declared their particular judgments against them in set and formed discourses; so that there was never a greater unanimity in any sentence; and they were judged to undergo corporal punishment, and to remain prisoners during their lives: which sentence was executed upon them with the utmost rigour. And afterwards, upon the resort of persons to them in prison, and by that means they finding still opportunity to spread their poison, they were all removed to several prisons; Pryn to the Isle of Jersey, Bastwick to a castle in North Wales, and Burton to the Isle of Scilly; where they remained unthought of for some years. This parliament was no sooner met, but a petition was delivered by Bastwick's wife on the behalf of her husband, which brought on the mention of the other two, and easily procured an order for the bringing them to the town, to the end they might have liberty to prosecute their complaints; and orders were signed by the speaker of the house of commons to the several governors of the castles where they were in custody, for their safe sending up. Whether it were by accident or combination, Pryn and Bastwick met together in the same town and the same inn, two days short of London, and were received and visited by many of the town and places adjacent, as persons of merit, and to whom much kindness and respect was due. The next night they came to Colebrook, where they were met by many of their friends from London, and were treated with great joy and feasting; and being to come to London the next day, they were met by multitudes of people, on horseback and on foot, who with great clamour and noise of joy congratulated their recovery. And in this manner, about two of the clock in the afternoon, they made their entry into London by Charing-cross; the two branded persons riding first, side by side, with branches of rosemary in their hands, and two or three hundred horse closely following them, and multitudes of foot on either side of them, walking by them, every man on horseback or on foot having bays and rosemary in their hats or hands, and the people on either side of the street strewing the way as they passed with herbs, and such other greens as the season afforded, and expressing great joy for their return. Nor had any minister of justice, or magistrate, or the state itself, courage enough to ex-

amine or prosecute in justice any persons who were part of that riotous assembly, whereof there were many citizens of good estates ; so low the reputation of the government was fallen, and so heartless all who should have supported it.

G.

III. 72. *last line*, remembered in its proper place.] *What follows in the text, as far as par. 79, l. 4, is taken from the MS. of the Life. The MS. of the History proceeds thus :*

Hitherto the vast burden of fourscore thousand pounds a month for the two armies was supported by particular loans and engagements of particular persons, no bill of subsidies being yet preferred ; and in those loans and engagements no men so forward as the great reformers before mentioned : and their policy in this was very notable. If subsidies had been granted at first, proportionable to the charge, (as naturally was expected,) a stock of credit would have been raised, whereby monies might have been had for the disbanding both armies, which they had no mind to, as Mr. Stroud once said when that point was pressed, and that the Scots might return ; that they could not yet spare them, for the sons of Zeruiah were too strong for them. Then they made their own merit and necessary use appear, that the great occasions of the kingdom, and the preserving it from two great armies, depended upon their interest and reputation ; and therefore they suffered the Scots' commissioners sometimes in great disorder to press for money when none was ready, and to declare that if it were not returned by such a day their army must necessarily advance, to change their quarters ; that so their dexterity might appear in suppressing or supplying that importunity. In the last place, the task of borrowing of money gave them opportunity of pressing their own designs to facilitate their work ; as, if any thing they proposed in the house was crossed, presently the city would lend no more money, because of this or that obstruction : the particulars whereof, and the advantages they had by it, will be mentioned seasonably. At last, rather for the support of their own credit than the supply of the kingdom, a bill was prepared for six subsidies, to be received by persons appointed by themselves, without ever passing through the king's exchequer ; for which there was a natural excuse, that it would hardly discharge the present

engagements, and so was properly to be received by them who had before advanced the money ; yet according to the formality of parliaments, and as if &c. *as in book III. par. 79, l. 4.*

H.

III. 160. *last line*, said hereafter.] *The MS. proceeds thus :*

The opposition in the lords' house, and the frequent contradiction in the house of commons, had allayed much of the fury which had so much prevailed ; and all men impatiently desired that the armies might be discharged, when all men believed better quarter would be kept : but no progress could be made towards that, till the earl of Strafford's business could be despatched, the Scots being bound to gratify their English friends in that particular, as if it were their own work. They who treated for the promotions at court were solicitous to finish that, as what would do all the rest : and the king was as positive not to do any thing towards it, till he might secure the life of the earl of Strafford ; which being done, he would do any thing. And the earl of Bedford, who had in truth more authority with the violent men than any body else, laboured heartily to bring it to pass.

In the afternoon, *as in par. 161, l. 1.*

I.

III. 192, 1. The earl of Bedford] *What follows is extracted from the MS. of the Life :*

Within two or three days after this time, the earl of Bedford, who was the only man of that authority with the leaders that he could to some degree temper and allay their passions, as being most privy to their ambitions, fell sick of the small-pox, and in few days died ; which put an end, at least for the present, to all treaties at court. For though the lord Say, (who was already master of the wards, in the place of the lord Cottington, who wisely withdrew from that office to accommodate him, as he had done before from the chancellorship of the exchequer for the accommodation of Mr. Pym,) that he might succeed him in his pretence to the treasurer's staff, was very willing to succeed him in the moderate pretences, and would have been contented to have preserved the life of the earl of Strafford ; yet neither his credit with the king, nor his authority with his con-

federates, was equal to the other's: and so they proceeded with all imaginable fury against that unfortunate great man, till they had taken away his life. The manner of that trial, and the proceeding afterwards against him by bill of attainder, and the drawing down the tumults to Westminster, for the facilitating the passage of that bill in the house of peers; the fixing up the names of those who dissented from it in the house of commons, as enemies to their country; the applications to the king by the bishop of Lincoln, (then made archbishop of York,) to satisfy him in point of conscience; the drawing down the tumults again to Whitehall, to cry out for justice; the king's unwilling consent to that bill; and the behaviour and courage of the earl at his death; the advantage the governing party had from the discovery of a senseless combination, or rather a foolish communication between some officers of the army, who betrayed each other, upon which Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pol-lard, three members of the house, were committed to prison, Percy, Jermin, and some others, fled the kingdom; the protestation that thereupon was entered into by the house of commons for the defence of the privileges of parliament, which was taken throughout the kingdom, though it was rejected by the house of peers; the mischievous use that was made of that protestation; are all particulars worthy to be mentioned at large, in the history of that time, though they do not properly belong to the discourse we are now engaged in.

K.

III. 231. *last line*, without further insisting on it.] *The MS. of the History proceeds thus:*

About the same time, another bill sent to the lords from the commons had the same fate with that for the protestation, and were the two only acts the lords to that time had refused to concur in. The government of the church by bishops was of that general reverence, that notwithstanding the envy and malice that the persons of many of them had contracted, and notwithstanding the malignity the Scotch nation had expressed even to the function, there appeared not in many persons of consideration any intention to extirpate that order; but very many who seemed to be friends to that, (and some that really were so,) both of the house of peers and commons, were impor-

tunate (and had entered into a combination to that purpose) to remove the bishops from sitting in the house of peers: and to that end a bill was prepared and brought into the house of commons; where, though it received some opposition by many who well foresaw that the taking away that essential part of their dignity would be a means, in a short time, to confound what was left, and that they who were in truth enemies to them would never compound for less than an abolition, but would hereafter urge this as an argument for the other, whatever pretences they made, as some of the most violentest of them then, and who have since pursued them to the death, did publicly profess, and the principal of them protested to the king, that they would never attempt or wish any other alteration than the removing them out of the house of peers; and although it was informed by those who well enough understood what they said, that the passing such a law would make a great alteration in the frame and constitution of parliaments, by reason that the bishops were the representative body of the clergy, and so made up the third estate; yet that last substantial and unanswerable argument being understood by few, and having been formerly too peremptorily and unskilfully rejected by the clergy themselves, who would have found out and fancied another title of sitting there; and many really believing that this degradation would abate the edge of that popular envy which otherwise threatened to cut off the order by the roots, others in truth thinking that twenty-four voices declared upon the matter for the crown did or might too much prejudice the commonwealth in the house of peers, some being so angry with particular bishops upon matter of interest and title that they sacrificed their reason and their conscience to their revenge, whilst they who had vowed their utter destruction and extirpation well knew that this progress was most necessary for their end; and that the only way to rid them out of the church was first to rid them out of the house, that so there might be twenty-four voices less to oppose the other. The bill passed the house of commons, and was transmitted to the lords, where it received several solemn debates; and at last, after very grave agitation, about the time that the bill for the protestation was cast out, by the consent of above three parts of four, it was likewise rejected: the which was no sooner known, than the house of commons let themselves loose into as

great passion as they had formerly done upon the protestation, expressing great indignation that the lords should refuse to concur with them in any thing they proposed. And thereupon they caused a short bill to be prepared for the utter abolition of archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters out of the church of England, which was brought into the house of commons within three days after the other was refused above, he that preferred it using these verses of Ovid, after some sharp mention of the lords' nonconcurrence ;

Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus

Ense recidendum est, &c.

which bill was shortly after committed, and took up the whole time of the house for near eight weeks together, till they found it was easier to resolve to destroy the government that was, than to agree upon any other in the place of it ; and till their own clergy, who most passionately and seditiously laboured to overthrow bishops, deans, and chapters, declared publicly at the bar, (where they were licensed to speak in answer to what some cathedral men alleged for their corporation,) that though it was very fit and just to take away the lands of the church from the bishops, deans, and chapters, which now enjoyed them, yet that it was not lawful to alien those lands to any profane or lay use : which being so contrary to their ends who principally pursued the extirpation, caused them for a time to give over that violent prosecution, and to suffer the bill to sleep.

The above may be compared with book III. par. 155, which has been adopted from the MS. of the Life.

L.

IV. 14. *last line, counsels and resolutions.] The text that follows is taken from the MS. of the Life. The MS. of the History proceeds thus :*

- 1 Upon the king's first coming into Scotland, there having been some jealousies and discontents in that army, the earl of Montrose declaring himself an enemy to their proceedings, and being not only in disgrace, but under restraint, as a person suspected too much to incline to the king, himself professing that he had been seduced by the specious pretences and false informations of the other party, the error whereof he had now discovered ; others reproaching his levity and ambition, with being discon-

tented at the greatness and reputation of the earl of Argyle, who appeared not so early in the first commotions as himself; the king was informed and advised, by some of near trust about him, who had great correspondence with Montrose, that the marquis of Hamilton had betrayed him throughout that whole great business, and that he and Argyle combined together to destroy him; and that if his majesty would give his consent, they should be both accused of high treason. The king hath told me, that (though he had reason enough to believe the worst that could be said of those two) he was positively against meddling with them at that time, both in respect of their very great interest in that kingdom, and the failing he conceived would be in the proofs against them, and especially that he had no reason to believe any attempt against him and the law could at that time be adjudged a crime by those who had the only liberty of judging. But being with great confidence assured by Will. Murray of his bedchamber, whom he singularly trusted, that the proofs would not be only full and sufficient, but that the major part of the nobility had so great indignation against those two lords, (for their disserving his majesty, and for making them instruments of bringing so great mischief upon so good a king,) that they would join together, and that they should be no sooner accused of high treason but they should be immediately carried to prison, and then, that it would be no hard matter to break their factions and master their dependants, the king was persuaded to refer it to themselves, every one well knowing that by the law of that kingdom the delator, if he failed in his proof, was to suffer the same punishment his accusation could bring, being proved, upon the other. About the same time, the lord Carr, eldest son to the earl of Roxburgh, upon some private difference, but upon the public cause, had sent a challenge to the marquis of Hamilton by the earl of Crawford, who indeed was of an inveterate hatred to the marquis, the which being taken notice of, care was taken to prevent that mischief. Upon a sudden, two or three days before the session was thought to end, the two great lords, Hamilton and Argyle, at midnight, with such followers as were at hand, fled out of the town to a house of the marquis Hamilton's, some miles distant from Edinburgh, where they stood upon their guard, their dependants giving it out that there was a plot to have murdered them. The

town was presently in an uproar, the gates shut, and guards set, and the parliament there in great disorder and apprehension; whilst the two lords writ letters both to the king and to the parliament, of great conspiracies and combinations entered into against them, not without some reflection upon his majesty. The king desired the parliament to be careful in the examination of all particulars, who thereupon made committees: and after some days spent in taking the deposition of such witnesses as offered themselves, and of such other persons whom they thought fit to produce, the lords return to Edinburgh, not without some acknowledgment to the king of an over-apprehension; though otherwise they carried themselves like men that thought they were in danger. That which gave most occasion of discourse was, that from that time Will. Murray (who was the only, or the most notable prosecutor and contriver of whatsoever was to have been done in that business, and was before understood to be a most avowed enemy to marquis Hamilton) grew to be of a most entire friendship with him, and at defiance with the earl of Montrose, with whom, till then, he had so absolute a power, that by his skill and interest that earl was reduced to the king's service: and I have heard the earl of Montrose say, that he was the only man who discovered that whole counsel to the marquis, after he had been a principal encourager of what had been proposed to the king; and an undertaker to prove many notable things himself.

- 2 Whatever was in this business, and I could never discover more than I have here set down, though the king himself told me all that he knew of it, as I verily believe, it had a strange influence at Westminster, and served to contribute to all the senseless fears they thought fit to put on. The committee in Scotland (Mr. Hampden, Mr. Fynes, and the rest) writ, that the parliament there was, with great harmony of affections, even concluding all the great affairs of that kingdom, and the king thinking upon his speedy return into England; but that there was unexpectedly fallen out an accident, by the sudden departure of the two great lords of Hamilton and Argyle (whom they loaded with the large attributes of piety and affection to the peace of the two kingdoms) from the parliament, and standing upon their guards, which, they said, had begot so general an amazement, that they knew not what to apprehend; but for

the better prevention of mischief, that strong guards were set in Edinburgh, and all strangers required to avoid the town; the copy of which order was sent. This letter (whether it arrived then, or was reserved for that seasonable season) was produced to the committee on Tuesday the 19th of October, which was the day before the remeeting of the two houses; and immediately, as if Edinburgh had been London, and the two lords the king's children, it was concluded there was some desperate design on foot, and some other practices of the same nature to be executed upon the good patriots of this kingdom; and therefore, without any pause, till another despatch might come from Scotland, whereby all mysteries might be revealed, the committee issued their warrants to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and to the justices of peace, to appoint strong guards in arms, to watch about London and Westminster; and besides their public warrants, by private intimations directed what was necessary to be done, to improve the useful fears of the people: and so that very day, as if all things had been ready for the occasion, a very formal guard of armed men attended at the palace at Westminster, where the committee of both houses sat.

- 3 On Wednesday the 20th of October, after a recess of about six weeks, (in which time the foundation was laid for all the mischief of the next year,) the two houses met again, and found themselves guarded by a great body of soldiers in arms, (the whole train-band of Westminster officiously giving their attendance that day,) whilst Mr. Pym reported to them the dangers they were in; and, though upon the reading the letters no great matter appeared, gave them cause to believe they should know more shortly than they expected: and thereupon the earl of Essex (who, as was said before, was general of that side Trent) was solemnly desired to appoint a guard to attend every day the two houses; who graciously dispensed with so great number as then attended, and directed only one hundred a day to wait, and to be relieved at night by another hundred: and being thus secured, they proceeded in the ordinary vexations of the committee; enjoining all such persons to attend, who had refused obedience to their orders of reformation in the church, or of recommendation of lecturers; but not yet trusting the house enough to bring any one person in judgment before them for his contumacy to those injunctions. Though the kindness

and protection of both houses towards marquis Hamilton had been very visible from the beginning of the parliament, that in all their inquisition for reformation they had never suffered him to be so much as named, who was before the most odious to court and country, yet their acknowledging him for a patriot, and so vital a part of the kingdom, that a combination against him was no less than treason, was not discovered till this husbanding of the Scotch fears, to the terror of the two houses: and it is not to be believed, how those men, who in their hearts were as great enemies to his person, and as well acquainted with his nature, seemed concerned in the danger that was threatened to his greatness; insomuch as the next day after the receipt of the letters, the earls of Essex and Holland sadly told me, that I might clearly discern the indirect way of the court, and how odious all honest men grew to them.

M.

- IV. 41. *last line*, been so violently ravished.] *The MS. adds:*
 1 On Monday, the first day of November, (the king being still in Scotland,) the house of commons was informed that the body of the lords of the council desired to impart somewhat to them of great consequence and concernment to the kingdom; whereupon (after a short debate for the manner of their reception, there having never been the like occasion) chairs were placed in the middle of the house, and they sent for in. The lord keeper informed the house, that the lord lieutenant of Ireland (who was present) had acquainted their lordships of the council with some letters he had received from the lords justices and council of Ireland, of a dangerous commotion and rebellion in that kingdom; and that the house of peers being adjourned till the next day, (for it was All Saints' day, which the lords yet kept holy, though the commons had reformed it,) they knew no other way to communicate it but this: and thereupon the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant of Ireland, read the letters he had that morning received, by which it appeared, that on the day of October, there had been a great design and conspiracy by some catholics to seize upon the castle of Dublin, where the arms and magazine for that kingdom were principally kept; and that the discovery was fortunately made by one Owen O'Conelly, (who was sent over with the letters,) not many hours before it should

have been put in execution: and so the principal conspirators, the lord Macguyre, one Maek Mahon, and some others, were apprehended, who, upon their examinations, had confessed their intentions of seizing the castle, and imprisoning at least the justices and council; for their doing whereof, many hundreds of Irish were by appointment at that time in the town and suburbs: that though by this happy discovery the mischief was for the present prevented in that city, yet that the rebellion was broken out in many places of the kingdom, especially in Ulster, where sir Phelim O'Neile had gathered together a great body, and had seized upon many houses and places of strength, his men exercising great barbarities and inhuman cruelties upon the English protestants; and that the whole kingdom was in that terror and apprehension that they knew not whom to trust, every hour discovering the defection of some person or place which they before suspected not; and therefore they desired, with all possible expedition, a supply of men and money, and some materials for war. Within two or three days at most, arrived letters from his majesty in Scotland, containing the same intelligence, and an information of some levies of men, prepared by the advice of the parliament of that kingdom, for their speedy relief; and a recommendation, and in truth a full submission of the whole business, and carrying on that war, to the wisdom and conduct of his parliament here; his majesty too soon considering it only as matter of trouble and charge; and not that the devotion of that people, and all that were to be engaged for them, would naturally incline to those from whom they were to expect support, which could not (as it hath since done) but beget him some trouble. The opinions and minds of men upon this great accident were very different and various. Some, who remembered well enough the blood and treasure less commotions in Ireland than this seemed to be had cost this kingdom, and in a time that was better prepared to spare both, were yet less affected with the mischief and danger; because they thought (too reasonably) that the storm in that kingdom would make fair weather in this, and that all ill humours and indispositions would be allayed, and united towards the suppression of that rebellion, there being like to be business enough for the most active, and reward enough for the most covetous, and honour for the ambitious. Others, who observed with what smooth brows the

great champions for reformations received this alarum, otherwise than was natural to their courage, and that by the advice of the parliament of Scotland the king had on the sudden committed the ordering as well as the maintaining the war to them, believed they had fomented and contrived this rebellion to keep themselves in action, reputation, and dominion; for here was now a new argument for the continuance of the parliament, superior to the first ground of the act: and this opinion was seriously improved, when it was observed how warily they entered upon the war, and moved as though they feared it would be too soon ended; some of them not sticking to say, that nothing was so necessary to the well settling and advancing that kingdom as this present rebellion, of which we shall have occasion to say more hereafter. These men again whispered, and by degrees shortly after spake aloud, that that commotion was licensed by the king, with a purpose to perplex this kingdom, and to form an army of papists that should be at his devotion, to invade this kingdom and oppress the parliament; which most odious and scandalous imputation, how senseless and groundless soever, found by the wicked arts of these men so much credit with the people, that we shall have often occasion hereafter to mention sundry inconveniences and mischiefs the king sustained thereby. But as I very well know that barbarous rebellion to have ever been most perfectly odious to the king, so I am confident the parliament (nor any of those that then swayed there) never originally and intentionally contributed thereunto; though it is as true, that by their rage and fury they fomented and inflamed it after it was begun, being willing to increase the number of the guilty; and truly I am persuaded, collaterally advanced the first inclinations to rebel: for it is very probable, that the seeds were sown, and the design framed, at least polished, during the time that the committee stayed here, which came hither from the parliament of Ireland the spring before; of which, upon this occasion, I shall speak a word.

- 2 The committee (consisting most of papists, and who have been since the most active in the rebellion) being sent from the parliament of that kingdom, amongst other things, to assist any complaint that should be preferred against the earl of Strafford, who, well knowing the nature of that nation, had been very watchful over them, were, as soon as they came to London,

affectionately treated by those who were engaged to ruin that great man ; admitted to their counsels, and, for the assistance they gave to that important work, were hearkened to in whatsoever they informed or proposed for that kingdom. Thus, upon the death of sir Rowland Wansford, (their deputy,) they procured the king to be moved by some powerful persons, that he would take their advice in the placing a new governor, as best knowing the state and affection of that kingdom, at least that he would [receive] exceptions from them against some persons whom they knew to be very unfit for that charge ; and this was, with great respect and subtlety, advised his majesty, to prevent the intermeddling of the house of commons, who might be too apt to offer their advice and opinion in that matter. Having gotten thus much ground, towards which they used the puritans about the king and the priests about the queen, (which were like to engender an excellent resolution,) they excepted against three persons, who, they said, in that conjuncture of time could not be useful to his majesty in the government of that kingdom ; which were, the lord of Ormond, the lord of Roscommon, and sir Wm. St. Leger, lord president of Munster ; which three had been recommended by the earl of Strafford to the king, to make his choice of : and, without question, if either the first or the last, and, it may be, the other, had been then made choice of, the peace and quiet of that kingdom had been preserved. By this means sir Will. Parsons and sir Jo. Borlase were made lords justices ; one of which had never been a man, and was now a child again ; and the other, though a person of great experience and subtlety, so obnoxious, that, in so inquisitive a time, he durst not exercise the necessary acts of sovereignty ; but, from his first entrance upon the command, suffered any invasion to be made on the rights of the crown and the dignity of his office.

- 3 In this time they observed the proceedings of the parliament here, and the grounds upon which they built their greatness, and transmitted the precedent to the two houses there, where were as many papists as puritans here, who, according to the patterns, built upon the same foundations. Then they discovered, by sundry acts they did themselves, and countenanced in others, that they had an implacable rancour to the catholics of this kingdom ; and when they heard it declared at the trial of the

earl of Strafford, that the kingdom of Ireland, and the parliament thereof, was subject to this parliament, and that an act made here would bind that kingdom, if it were named in the act, they apprehended themselves and their religion to be in much danger; and so considered, amongst themselves, how to make use of the troubles they saw like to befall this kingdom to their own advantage.

4 Upon the death of the earl of Strafford, the king constituted the earl of Leicester lieutenant of Ireland, who being then extraordinary ambassador in France was necessarily to return into that kingdom, (from which he was come hither, by leave from the king, for few days,) to finish that negotiation, before he could go to receive the sword in Ireland, which, in that article, wanted a vigilant and active commander.

5 It is true, that the parliament was nothing satisfied with the king's election, the earl of Leicester being known to few of them, and without cause suspected for some correspondence he was thought to have with the earl of Strafford; besides, that they had a mind to have that kingdom in the custody of a confident of their own; and either marquis Hamilton himself, or some friends for him, had a thought of it. On the other hand, the committee was more displeased, for they hoped so wisely to have managed their negative voice of excepting to persons, that at last it should be committed to some person at least well inclined to them; and the earl of Leicester, however his late grace at court had sullied him at home, was generally understood to be a puritan abroad, at least they knew him more than ordinarily averse to their religion, so that they had little hope of more than the advantages they could make in the time he was necessarily to be absent from them. Therefore, having done all for which they came, (except in this point of the chief governor,) and having by their interest with the enemies of the earl of Strafford here prevailed against the sending away and transporting the soldiers of the new army in Ireland, and in the parliament in Ireland against their disbanding, for a good time after the king's command to that purpose, they departed to their own country; where they found great licences used in resisting the government, taking possessions by force, and other acts of disorder, which were every day exercised, by the remissness of the lords justices; together with the discountenance which had been

here put upon the extraordinary but necessary proceedings, which, upon reason of state, had been always used by the supreme governors there: and, without doubt, the scheme was then laid for the general insurrection over the kingdom, which brake out in October following, though, I believe, it was prosecuted with more barbarous and inhuman circumstances by the base people than was intended, and though many more of quality joined afterwards with the rebels, by the indirect carriage of the lords justices, and by the violence of the parliament of England, than in the beginning were privy, or consenting in their hearts to it: of which more hereafter.

- 6 The earl of Strafford, by his experience of the temper of that people, foresaw a storm would arise thence to the king, as had done to himself, and gave his majesty warning of it, and afterwards advised him to send the lord Cottington thither his lieutenant; but the winds here were too high, and too much against him then, to venture thither, which was like to be no easy or pleasant station, though no rebellion had happened. It was strange, that upon the first opening of this, the king was not persuaded (which I have not heard he was) to dissolve that parliament, which, in probability, could be no further applied to his service, and visibly might do him great hurt, as it after did; but the court believed, that the only danger being from the puritans of this kingdom, it could not be improved by the papists of that, whose ambition and interest found a line of communication in spite of their religion. If that parliament had been dissolved when this was summoned, (after, it could not reasonably be,) it being discernible of what spirit it would be; or if the earl of Ormond or the president of Munster had been made deputy upon the death of Wausford, and the lieutenant absolutely laid down his interest, which he did not till his death, so that the nation was without a subordinate dependance upon any man who might lessen their fears and improve their hopes; or if the soldiers of that army had been suffered to be transported when the king gave his licence and warrant to that purpose, I am verily persuaded that fire would never have been kindled, or as soon extinguished. And it is as probable, that if that kingdom had contained itself within their old limits of obedience and loyalty, I should neither have had leisure or occasion to have complained of the breaches or violation of this. How one, which

should have prevented, did contribute to the other, must be too often remembered and mentioned in this ensuing discourse.

7 As soon as the condition of Ireland was understood, order was given for the speedy raising of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, under such officers as the house should approve of, a list of which was to be preferred to them by the lord lieutenant, his lordship having, with their approbation, sent a commission of lieutenant-general to the earl of Ormond, by the desire and recommendation of the lords justices and council there. A committee of both houses was appointed to intend the business and affairs of that kingdom, and special direction given, that no officer of the late northern army, who was suspected to have any hand in their plot against the parliament, should be entertained in that service. New jealousy and sharpness was expressed against the papists, as if they were privy to the insurrection in Ireland, and to perform the same exploit in this kingdom. Hereupon the guards were doubled, and several houses searched for arms and ammunition ; letters were framed, and directed to some obscure papists, and then found in the street, and brought to the house, and there opened and read, in which there are dark discourses of plots and disappointments, but that all will be speedily repaired by the diligence and power of their friends ; and such absurd, gross follies, as even the discoverers blushed at. Yet this is made matter of serious concernment, and thereupon lists of all papists of quality, in the several counties of England, are presented, and the house of peers moved that their persons may be secured. The houses of ambassadors were searched for priests, and such insolencies offered to their persons as exposed the honour of the king and kingdom to the wonder and censure of Christendom. The barbarous curiosity was revived of opening letters, (which they had practised upon discovery of their first plot, and upon the flight of Mr. Percy and Mr. Jermyn,) especially to and from France, in which they often met with expressions of censure, scorn, and reproach upon their own proceedings, which were straight interpreted as so many conspiracies against the parliament. Once they found a letter of intelligence to Mr. Mountague, in France, which they discovered, by some that knew the hand, to be written by Phillips, the queen's confessor. Though there was nothing in it of public relation, they would needs have him examined upon

some expressions in it, and so he was sent for to the lords' house. When the oath was administering to him, he absurdly pulled away his hand from the book, and said it was no true Bible; for which he was deservedly committed. As soon as it was known to the house of commons, (and it was immediately communicated at a conference by the lords as a notable testimony of their zeal,) it was looked upon as a reproach to our religion upon design; and of that nature, that no priest would presume, in the face of a parliament, but by extraordinary countenance and instigation: and from thence great liberty was taken to inveigh against the religion of the court, with bold and apparent glances at the person of the queen. By these high and fierce proceedings the catholic lords were so appalled, that they not only withdrew themselves from the house of peers, (which was the drift of the powerful party,) but, out of tameness of spirit and dejection of mind, deposited their proxies with those lords who were the principal contrivers and cherishers of the violence that was against them: and yet it is true, that the earl of Essex, who was trusted with the earl of St. Alban's proxy, would very frequently in the agitation of business give his own vote one way, and his proxy the other way, saying, he knew it was the mind of him who trusted him; which was no doubt the rule he was to govern himself by: but there was no other example of that justice.

N.

IV. 49. 1. About the time &c.] *The text is taken from the MS. of the Life. The account in the History is more brief, and proceeds as follows:*

- 1 At the beginning of the parliament, or shortly after, when all men were inflamed with the pressures and illegalities which had been exercised upon them, a committee was appointed to prepare a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, to be presented to his majesty, in which the several grievances might be recited; which committee had never brought any report to the house, most men conceiving, (and very reasonably,) that the quick and effectual progress his majesty made for the reparation of those grievances, and prevention of the like for the future, had rendered that work needless. But as soon as the intelligence came of his majesty's being on his way from Scotland towards London, that committee was with great earnestness and

importunity called upon to bring in the draft of such a remonstrance, upon pretence that great endeavour had been used (and then the new examinations procured by the earl of Holland's information, upon the old business of the army, were produced, or rather reported) to pervert the affections of the people from the parliament, by magnifying the great grace and bounty of the king, in the many acts passed by him since the beginning of the parliament; and by undervaluing whatsoever had been done in retribution by them to the king, which was said to be nothing: and therefore, that it was necessary, for their acquittal, that they should let the kingdom know in what state and condition they found it at their first convention, and the fruit and benefit they had received by their counsels, wherein their securities were not yet sufficiently provided for; and what they intended to do further for them both in church and state: and they said, though the prime evil counsellors were removed, there were others growing up in their places like to do as much mischief. And so the committee was directed to prepare and bring in the remonstrance.

- 2 On Monday, the 22d of November, (the king being within two miles of London,) Mr. Pym brought in the remonstrance, which was read, having no direction to the king, or mention of the house of peers, but being a plain declaration from the house of commons to the people, and entitled, A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom; in which they set forth, "that there " had been, from the beginning of his majesty's reign," &c. *as in book IV. par. 59, line 2.*

O.

IV. 73. *last line*, particulars of this nature.] *The MS. proceeds as follows:*

- 1 This remonstrance being read about ten of the clock in the morning, it was demanded, whether it should be sent to the lords, and passed that house; for that though it seemed to be intended only for an act of the commons, yet it comprehended some particulars which concerned the peers in matter of privilege, and might be occasion of difference if their concurrence should not be desired. Though no positive declaration of the sense of the house was made in this point, it being said it might be considered after it passed the vote, it was apparent they meant not to carry [it] to the lords, and desire their approba-

tion. It was thereupon objected, that such a remonstrance was unprecedented, and never before heard of [in] parliament; all remonstrances having been heretofore directed to the king, by way of petition, or else to the house of peers, when it concerned matter in difference between them: whereas this seemed to be an instrument to the people, in the nature of an appeal to them; which had never been practised, and might prove of very dangerous consequence. That his majesty had reason to expect upon his return from Scotland some demonstration of their affection, in bills and other acts prepared for the settlement of his revenue, in acknowledgment of the many acts of grace and favour passed by him to his people since the beginning of this parliament, surpassing all that had been ever granted by his progenitors; and that his expectation would be strangely disappointed, to find, after he had passed an oblivion himself of all matters which had relation to the differences between the two kingdoms, by which, no doubt, many men found themselves much at ease, all his own mistakes and oversights, in those particulars he had abundantly repaired, exposed to the public view, not only to sharpen the memory of his subjects to a sense of their former sufferings, but to publish to all Christian princes a view of a disjointed and unsatisfied people, and how far his majesty was from being possessed of their hearts; which might be a means to invite a foreign enemy to invade this kingdom, and to bring all those mischiefs upon it they seemed to apprehend. That it would probably infuse into the people a dislike of the settled form of government, when they should find many things which were established by law inveighed against as pernicious to the peace of the kingdom; and that it must give the house of peers a just offence, and consequently beget a misunderstanding between them, when they should see themselves so irregularly presented to the people, as the obstructors of the public justice, and enemies to a reformation, whereas their concurrence had been more eminent than had been known in any age. That, beside the matter, the dialect and expressions were so unusual, and might be thought to lessen in many particulars the reverence due to his majesty, that it might be a means to alienate his majesty's heart from them, by lessening his confidence in their affection and duty. Lastly, that the publishing thereof was simply unnecessary, and could produce no good effect, the

grievances complained of being already redressed, and probably might occasion great inconveniences and distempers; and therefore, that in prudence it ought to be laid aside.

- 2 The debate held many hours, in which the framers and contrivers of the declaration said very little, nor answered any reasons that were alleged to the contrary; the only end of passing it, which was to incline the people to sedition, being a reason not to be given; but called still for the question, presuming their number, if not their reason, would serve to carry it: and after two of the clock in the morning, (for so long the debate continued, if that can be called a debate when those only of one opinion argued,) when many were gone home to their lodgings out of pure indisposition of health, having neither eat nor drank all the day, and others had withdrawn themselves, that they might neither consent to it, as being against their reason and conscience, nor disoblige the other party by refusing; it was put to the question, and the house divided, and upon the computation the dissenters found to be the inferior number by eleven voices: and so that absurd, fatal remonstrance, the first visible ground and foundation of that rage and madness in the people, of which they could never since be cured, [was carried.] Yet when this passed, the number in the house exceeded not three hundred, which was not much more than half, the house consisting of above five hundred; and there being not one man absent of known inclinations to the violence which then carried all before it, those of that constitution being never absent in any article of time in which any thing that concerned their aims was handled; when men of moderate and sober purposes contented themselves with wishing well, and disliking what was amiss, presuming that truth would in the end prevail without their troubling themselves: and therefore they either quite left the house, and went into the country, to attend their own business, or were content only to sit two or three hours in a day, in those hours which former times had made most parliamentary, and then withdrew; the which the active party discerning, usually reserved their greatest designs to be proposed and debated in those seasons, either of dinner or the evening, when most of different opinions were absent; so that my lord of Falkland was wont to say, that they who hated bishops hated them worse than the Devil, and they who loved them loved them not so well as they did their dinners.

P.

IV. 77. *last line*, to question their transgressions.] *After this, in the MS. of the History, is the following short account of the dispute in the house of commons respecting the right of protesting; of which a circumstantial statement is given from the MS. of the Life in book IV. 53, &c.*

I have been the longer in contemplation of this particular in this place, because from their mastery in that night's debate about the remonstrance, and the agony they were in during the debate, that they might not prevail, they contracted so great a pride and animosity against those that opposed them, and the others grew so cast down and dejected, that ever after they met no equal opposition in the house of commons: for the same night, after it was voted, upon a motion made for the printing it, a new debate arising with more passion than the former, and one member standing up, and desiring leave to enter his protestation against it, (which was usual in the house of peers, and by the same reason might be thought not unlawful there, though it had not been practised in the house of commons,) all those who had dissented, with much passion, and some disorder, desired to enter their protestations likewise; so that the business of printing was for the present laid aside, and the protestation pressed in that manner, that the house rose in some confusion about three of the clock in the morning. Whereupon, two days after, when they had contrived their business, they questioned Mr. Palmer, who was one of those who offered his protestation, upon some expressions in the manner of doing it, which some were prepared to witness against him; and without suffering it to be debated, whether protesting itself were lawful and regular, after a debate of five or six hours, many of the dissenters being won over, and others persuaded to be absent, they judged him to be sent to the Tower; being contented to compound for Mr. Palmer, and to wave questioning the gentleman who first began the protestation, (though he was more in their displeasure,) by reason one powerful person amongst them had taken some groundless affection to him, and declared that he would concur with them against Mr. Palmer, but would with all his interest oppose them on the behalf of the other; and so, having compassed their main end, from that time they found the sense of that house more at their devotion; as will be observed hereafter.

Q.

IV. 78, 11, or the king expect.] *The MS. of the Life continues:*

- 1 And it was at that time lamented that the king chose rather to pass through the town to Hampton-court, without staying at Whitehall, which many men wished he had done, and which would have kept up the spirits of his friends; and it was visible enough, the governing people feared it much, and were dejected with the apprehension; but in few days recovered their courage, and sent their remonstrance to the king by a committee of their members to Hampton-court; and at the same time sent it carefully over the kingdom in print. And the diligence and dexterity of the lord mayor causing an address to be made to his majesty from the court of aldermen, by the two sheriffs, and others of that body, with an humble desire that his majesty would reside at Whitehall, (which angered the house of commons as much as their ceremonious reception had done,) the petition was very graciously received, all the aldermen knighted, and the court within a day or two removed to Whitehall.
- 2 The king, at his return, found a greater alteration in his family to the worse, than he did in the parliament to the better. Before the disbanding of the armies, when the earl of Northumberland delivered up his commission, it was thought necessary, for the prevention of all disorders, that another general should be constituted, though he was like to have little else to do than to take care for the orderly disbanding; and most men believed that the earl of Essex, who the king had made chamberlain of his household and of his council, should have been designed to that office; which had been very happy. But howsoever it came about, the unlucky genius of the court prevailed that the earl of Holland, who wiped out the memory of many great faults with new professions of duty, had that commission; which the other earl looked upon as an injury and indignity to him; and conferring with Mr. Hyde upon that occasion, he protested that, if the king had made him general, he would have exacted very punctual proceedings from the Scots; and if it had been necessary, he would [have] executed martial law in the army, let the parliament have been as angry as they would, and they had declared as much against marshall, [sic] and made as penal, as any other excess of which they had accused the earl of Strafford.

And it was believed, by those who knew him very well, that it had been at that time very easy to have fixed him to the king's service, whereas, from this disobligation, he grew much soured to the court. The earl of Holland, whose nature and fortune disposed him to acquire all he could for the support of his vanity and necessary [sic]; and he promised himself more profit than honour from his new office of general: and so when the king visited the army in his journey to Scotland, when they were upon disbanding, the earl of Holland pressed his majesty, with great importunity, to bestow upon him the making a baron, which at that time might possibly have yielded him ten thousand pounds; which the king as positively refused to grant; being not only in his judgment very averse from making merchandise of those honours, but having no mind to increase at that time the number of the peers: which was prudently resolved. The earl, resenting this refusal, withdrew his zeal for the king's service, and writ a letter to the parliament of his majesty's passing that way, and used such mysterious expressions of some endeavours used to corrupt and pervert the army, that, as it might relate to the former practices in the beginning of the year, upon discovery whereof so many had been committed, and others fled the kingdom, so it did as naturally imply some new design of his majesty himself to hinder the disbanding the army, at least till the Scots should be withdrawn, and the king in Scotland: notwithstanding all which, the earl said, he had begun the disbanding that day, (the day on which he writ,) and would continue it, till all should be done: which letter made impression on many to keep up those jealousies which all good men ought to allay. The earl seemed to many of his friends, whose affections he knew, to be much troubled that his letter was so interpreted, protesting, that as there was no reason to make any such reflection upon any thing the king had said or done, so he intended it only upon a retrospect of the former attempt. However, after that, he wholly estranged himself from the king's service; and after his return out of the north, the king being still in Scotland, it was long before he so much as waited upon the queen, who resided at Oatlands, and saw her but once, and wholly betook himself to the conversation and friendship of those who directed all their counsels and endeavours to lessen the king's authority and discredit his reputation, and was constantly with them in their

private meetings ; and whether he seduced or was seduced, the lady Carlisle, with whom he always held a strict friendship, at the same time withdrew herself from her attendance upon the queen, communicated all she knew, and more, of the natures and dispositions of the king and queen ; and after she had for a short [time] murmured for the death of the earl of Strafford, she renounced all future devotion for those who would, but could not, protect him, and applied herself to and courted all those who murdered him, with all possible condescensions ; so that his majesty found, at his return from Scotland, these two very considerable persons retired from his service into the closest counsels of his enemies, to which they contributed their information.

- 3 There was another defection at the same time that gave the king more disturbance than the other. The last obligation he had conferred, and the best he could confer, brought him not that harvest which he expected. The earl of Leicester, after his being declared lieutenant of Ireland, made a journey into France, to take his leave of that court, upon the expiration of his embassy, and returned from thence whilst his majesty was in Scotland, to prepare for his transportation into Ireland. He was a man of a reserved nature, and communicated with very few, so that he gave his enemies no advantage against him ; but his wife was my lady Carlisle's own sister, equally active and tempestuous, and drew the principal persons, who were most obnoxious to the court, and to whom the court was most obnoxious, to a constant conversation at Leicester house, where all freedom of discourse was used of all things and all persons ; which was not agreeable to the earl's nature or his prudence. But the rebellion no sooner fell out in Ireland, and the king had committed the managing of that war to the two houses of parliament, but the earl likewise disposed himself to more address towards that governing party, which he saw was able much to advance or obstruct all his pretences ; and as he took care to do nothing which might anger or provoke them, (who were not without some prejudice towards him,) so by degrees he became involved in actions, and in concurrence in vote with them, much to the displeasure of the king ; so that his majesty found likewise upon his return, that, very contrary to his expectation, he was disappointed at least of the confidence he promised himself in his service ; though some, who knew the earl very well, did believe that he erred through too

much wariness, and too nice a consideration of offending them ; and in truth never failed in his fidelity to the king. And in this melancholic state his majesty found his domestic and his public affairs when he returned from Scotland to Hampton-court.

R.

IV. 94. *last line*, to so many uneasinesses there.] *After this, the MS. of the Life proceeds thus :*

They found that they were so far from having gotten credit by their angry bill against the church for the extirpation of bishops, that they had lost ground in the attempt, and therefore they seemed to decline any farther thought of such a violent proceeding, and to have more moderate inclinations ; and so one morning they brought in and desired to have a bill read for the taking away the votes of the bishops out of the house of peers, no otherwise differing from the former than it was shorter. It was opposed by many that it should be received or read, for that it was a known rule of the house that a bill rejected could not be brought again into the house during the same session, which was an order that had never been known to be violated, which Mr. Pym confessed, but said, that our orders were not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, not to be altered, but that they were in our own power, and that the receiving this bill, since it was in our power, would be very necessary, and would quiet the minds of many, who, it may be, would be contented with the passing this bill, who would otherwise be importunate for more violent remedies, and that there was reason to believe, that the lords who had rejected the former bill were sorry for it, and would give this a better reception ; and if they did not, it would meet with the same fate the other had done, and we should have the satisfaction of having discharged our own consciences. The content many men had, to see the former violence declined, and more moderate counsels pursued, it [sic] prevailed so far, that the bill was received, and read ; and the same reasons, with some subsequent actions and accidents, prevailed afterwards for the passing it in the house of commons, though it received a greater opposition than it had done formerly. And the lord Falkland then concurring with his friend Mr. Hyde in the opposing it, Mr. Hambden said, that he was sorry to find a noble lord had changed his opinion since the time the last bill

to this purpose had passed the house ; for he then thought it a good bill, but now he thought this an ill one. To which the lord Falkland presently replied, that he had been persuaded at that time by that worthy gentleman to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue, and therefore he had changed his opinion in many particulars, as well to things as to persons.

S.

IV. 100. *last line*, and so it rested.] *What follows is copied from the MS. of the Life :*

And so those two great bills, the one against the bishops sitting in the house of peers, and the other for the militia, were the subject of the present designs in the house of commons, and called upon as any thing fell out which might advance either ; but for the present they seemed most intent and solicitous upon that against the bishops ; in which they still found great opposition ; and did very visibly lose ground in the house of commons, as the king's friends grew daily stronger in the house of peers. The king resolved to make the right use of this temper in the two houses, and to expect what benefit it would produce to his service, and to give all the countenance he could to those who behaved themselves well, and to give over all private treaties with those who had disserved him, and still pursued those ways which sufficiently informed him that they did not intend to depend upon him, but that he should depend upon them : which resolution was well taken, if it had been as punctually pursued. As soon as he returned from Scotland, he made Mr. Nicholas, one of the clerks of the council, who had been secretary to the duke of Buckingham for the maritime affairs, a man of good experience, and of a very good reputation, secretary of state, in the place of Windebank ; and shortly after, as is said, he removed sir H. Vane, who had attended him in Scotland, and whom he had found mischievously false to his service, out of the other secretary's place, reserving that vacant till he should find somebody who would deserve it ; having taken his staff of treasurer of the house from him before, and given it to as ill a man, the lord Saville, who had no other merit than having been one of the first conspirators against him in the bringing in the Scots to invade England, and in the conspiracy against the earl of Strafford, out of a personal malice from the animosities between

their families; and when all the mischief was brought to pass that he desired, he very frankly discovered the whole to the king, and who were guilty of the same treason, when there was no way to call them in question for it; and made all the vows and protestations of future fidelity; and was a bold talker, and applicable to any undertaking, good, bad, or indifferent, but without any reputation of ingenuity or integrity. And for this conversion and discovery, he had, presently after the death of the earl of Strafford, that office of the household conferred upon him, and had been amongst those of that gang likewise made a privy-counsellor.

T.

IV. 130, l. 12, could not have brought upon them.] *What follows is taken from the MS. of the Life :*

- 1 The bill, which had been so irregularly brought into the house of commons, for the putting the bishops out of the house of peers, was carried in that house by being called upon in thin houses, and the fatal negligence of those who could never be induced to attend the service in which their country had trusted them, and to which in truth all the calamities that afterwards befell the kingdom are to be imputed; the number of those who disliked, and, when they were present, opposed those seditious proceedings, being much superior in number to the other; who, by their artifices in the contriving and prosecuting their ill designs, but especially by their indefatigable industry, prevailed in what they went about. But when it came into the house of peers, it found no reception answerable to their expectation; it was permitted to be read with great opposition, and, being once read, the number of those who opposed it was so much greater than the other which favoured and advanced it, that they could have no reasonable hope of ever being able to get it passed there, and this opposition put them to their wit's end; so that, being without any other hope, they resorted to their last remedy, which had once before served their turn in the destruction of the earl of Strafford. And the rabble of apprentices and inferior people of the city flocked in great multitudes about the house of peers, crying out, even at the doors of the house, that they would have no bishops; and as the bishops passed towards the house, to perform their duty, they stopped their passage, and would not suffer them to go in; and assaulted

the persons of others, and pulled and tore their habits from their backs; treating likewise some members of the house of commons very rudely, as they passed upon messages and conferences between the two houses; when they used those of the members who were grateful to them with great respect and observance; and those with whom they were displeased, when they could sever them from the rest, they crowded, and pressed, and trod upon; and had several papers in their hands, which they read with a loud voice, standing upon the table, and in other places of the court of request, in which they read the names of several persons, under the style of *persons disaffected to the kingdom*; amongst which, sir John Strangeways was the first, and Mr. Hyde was the second, and then the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper, and the rest who were most troublesome to them were likewise nominated. And when complaint was made to the house of commons for this disorder and breach of privilege, it was turned into mirth, and the names of the persons required of those who complained, and who could not be supposed to know any of that rabble; which made very many of the members of the houses forbear to give their attendance there, out of real apprehension of danger to their persons. It was in the time of the Christmas holydays, which gave the greater opportunity to the tumults; and in which parliaments had never used to sit; and when very many of the house of commons had, according to their custom, retired into the country, to keep their Christmas with their neighbours, according to the good old fashion of England.

- ² There was amongst the bishops one of a very imperious and fiery temper, Dr. Williams, who had been keeper of the great seal of England in the time of king James, and bishop of Lincoln; after his removal from that church he had lived splendidly, &c. *as in par. 130, l. 16.*

U.

IV. 149. *Previous to the Articles in the MS. of the History is the subjoined statement, following par. 145:*

- ¹ Matters being thus carried in both houses, and in the soul of both houses, the city and suburbs, the king found himself in a very sad condition; and discerned plainly how the affections of the country would be governed. In the house of commons,

the ministers of confusion carried all before them, there being very few, who either considered his rights with justice, or his person with reverence, whose faces were known to him, or who had any other obligation but of allegiance. In the house of peers he saw twelve swept away in an instant, upon whose duty and loyalty he might have relied, and by a rule that might quickly dispose of the rest ; for if the house of peers would imprison all whom the house of commons would accuse of high treason, he had now reason enough to believe they would accuse as many as they were angry with, or as were angry with them. He saw the power that first drove the bishops from the house, and after kept them from thence, would by degrees make those that stayed consent to whatsoever they desired. He knew the licence their chief leaders and directors assumed in their private cabals, to vilify and condemn his person, and how they countenanced the most infamous scandals that could be laid on him ; that they endeavoured to make it believed that he contributed to and assisted the rebellion in Ireland, (which was justly the most odious imputation that any man could be charged with,) and to that purpose suffered letters and other discourses from mean persons, (if not fictitious,) that the rebels in Ireland called themselves the queen's army, and pretended the king's authority for what they did, to be printed and published in the journal of both houses, which could not but make great impression in the people, together with that odious remonstrance they had with such industry dispersed throughout the kingdom ; so that many were heard to say in those tumults that the king was the traitor, and others, that the young prince would govern better ; and in the greatest height and fury of them the lord Kimbolton was heard (at least his majesty was so informed) to bid them go to Whitehall. In this unparalleled distraction, the court, and those whom he had most notoriously obliged, seemed neither concerned in his honour or safety. The earl of Northumberland, whom he had made lord high admiral of England, and upon whom in few years he had bestowed a greater treasure of his favours than upon any man alive, and without the least interruption or pause, was now a declared champion for the most violent, and totally estranged himself from the court. The earl of Holland, whom, but four months before, he looked upon as his own creature, as he had good reason to account himself from

the beginning, joined himself close to and concurred with those councils which with the greatest bitterness were held against him; and having published whatsoever he had under trust drawn from men in the army to the king's disadvantage, he disclosed whatsoever he knew of his master's counsels, or thought of his nature and disposition. The earl of Essex, whom he had lately made a counsellor, and chamberlain of his house, was not the more his servant, but continued in those popular paths he had always walked in, much the less inclined to the king by the infusions the earl of Holland every day instilled to him. The earl of Leicester, who was the last man he had obliged, and obliged to the most envious degree, making him lieutenant of Ireland, was at least so conversant with them, that they took him to be of their faction cordially. And lastly, which, it may be, made all the rest the worse, the countess of Carlisle, who was most obliged and trusted by the queen, and had been for her eminent and constant affection to the earl of Strafford admitted to all the consultations which were for his preservation, and privy to all the resentments had been on his behalf, and so could not but remember many sharp sayings uttered in that time, was become a confidant in those counsels, and discovered whatsoever she had been trusted with. So that he had very few fit to give him counsel, and none that would avow it; the council-table being only a snare and a trap, to discover who durst think himself wise enough to preserve the public.

- 2 In this restraint the king, considering rather what was just, than what was expedient, without communicating it to any of his council, and so not sufficiently weighing the circumstances and way of doing it, as well as the matter itself, resolved not to be stripped of all his own servants, and such as faithfully adhered to him, upon general accusation of treason, the greatest of which was their being dutiful to him against whom only treason could be committed, but that he would accuse those who he well knew and believed he could prove to be guilty of all the treason had been acted or imagined; and so on the third day of January, about two of the clock in the afternoon, he sent for sir Edward Herbert, his attorney general, and delivered a paper to him in writing, which contained a charge against those he meant to accuse; and commanded him forthwith to go to the house, and in his name to accuse those persons to the house of peers of

high treason. The attorney accordingly went, and standing up, told their lordships, that he did, in his majesty's name, and by his especial command, accuse the lord Kimbolton, a member of that house, Mr. Pym, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Mr. John Hambden, Mr. William Strode, and sir Arthur Haslerig, of high treason, and other misdemeanours, and seven articles, which he read in these words, and then delivered them to the clerk, and desired the persons might be committed.

X.

IV. 163, *last line*, had used to do.] *The MS. adds:*

And some friends of Mr. Hyde, who loved him very well, told him under what reproach he lay, which was the greater by his known friendship with the lord Digby; and advised him so to carry himself in the debates which should arise upon this matter, that it might evidently appear that he did not approve of it, or was privy to it.

And so at their meeting, &c. *as in par.* 164.

Y.

IV. 203, *last line*, which were then laid.] *The MS. proceeds thus:*

¹ The same day of this triumph, that the danger might be understood to extend farther than those members who were then accused, and to take away the reputation of the new counsellors, who were preferred to places they had promised themselves, and were looked upon with singular estimation, and were most like to check the furious course they meant to run, two letters were produced in the house, which had been the day before brought to the committee in London by Mr. Bridgman a member of the house, of very good reputation, who, having a relation to the king's service, by being solicitor to the prince, and of eminent learning in the law, usually opposed their extravagant proceedings, and had been one of those who dissented in the bill of attainder of the earl of Strafford, and had argued against the treason of the charge. This gentleman received a letter, directed to himself, and left at his lodging, containing these words:

"Sir,

² "We are your friends. These are to advise you to look to yourself, and to advise others of my lord of Strafford's friends to take heed, lest they be involved in the common calamity. Our advice is, to

be gone, to pretend business, till the great hubbub be past. Withdraw, lest you suffer amongst the puritans. We entreat you to send away this enclosed letter to Mr. Anderton, enclosed to some trusty friend, that it may be carried safely without suspicion; for it concerns the common safety. So desire your friends in Covent Garden. January 4th."

- 3 The enclosed was directed, "To the worshipful and my much honoured friend Mr. Anderton, these present." Mr. Bridgman had acquaintance with no such man, and easily found, by the style of his own letter, that it was only directed to him to bring somewhat to light, or to be able to accuse him of smothering some notable conspiracy; and therefore immediately carried his own letter, and the other, which he would not open, to the committee, which being risen, he delivered both to him who sat in the chair for that service. The letter being broke up by him was presented to the house at the next sitting, and was in these words:

"Sir,

- 4 "Although many designs have been defeated, yet that of Ireland holds well. And now our last plot works as hopefully as that of Ireland, we must bear with something in the man: his will is strong enough, as long as he is fed with hopes. The woman is true to us, and real; her counsel about her is very good. I doubt not but to send you by the next very joyful news: for the present, our rich enemies, Pym, Hambden, Hollis, Strode, and Haslerig, are blemished, challenged for no less than treason. Before I write next, we doubt not but to have them in the Tower, or their heads from their shoulders. The solicitor, and Fynes, and earl, we must serve with the same sauce. And in the house of lords Mandevil is touched, but Essex, Warwick, Say, Brook, and Paget must follow, or else we shall not be quiet. Falkland and Culpepper are friends to our side, at leastwise they will do us no hurt. The protestants and puritans are so divided, that we need not fear them; the protestants in a greater part will join with us, or stand neuters, while the puritan is suppressed. If we can bring them under, the protestant will either fall in with us, generally, or else, if they do not, they are so indifferent, that, either by fair or foul means, we shall be able to command them. The mischievous Londoners and apprentices may do us some hurt for present; but we need not much fear them; they do nothing orderly but tumultuously; therefore we doubt not but to have them under command after one brunt; for our party is strong in the city, especially Holborn, the new buildings, and

Westminster. We are afraid of nothing but the Scots appearing again ; but we have made a party there, at the king's last being there, which will hold their hands behind them, while we act our parts at home. Let us acquit ourselves like men, for our religion and country, now or never. The king's heart is protestant, but our friends can persuade him, and make him believe any thing : he hates the puritan party, and is made irreconcilable to that side ; so that the sun, the moon, and the stars are for us. There are no less than twenty thousand ministers in England ; the greater half will, in their places, be our friends, to avenge the bishops' dishonour. Let our friends be encouraged, the work is more than half done.

Your servant,

R. E."

- 5 These letters were no sooner read, (though the forgery was so gross that every discerning and sober person clearly discovered it,) but many seemed much moved by them, and concluded that there was some desperate design against the parliament, which was not yet fully discovered ; and they that had but three days before declared, that the proclamation published by the king against those whom he had accused of high treason was a false and scandalous paper, and that the articles which he had preferred against them were seditious, and an injury and dishonour to the said members, were now contented to entertain the most senseless and groundless scandal against two of their members, equal in reputation to the best of the other, and in a matter every man's heart absolved them, and ordered the letters with solemnity to be delivered at the lords' bar, after they were entered in the book of the other house, that the lords might see how many of their members were in danger of the same conspiracy those that were accused had undergone.

Z.

IV. 205, *last line*, consent to their desire.] *The MS. adds :*

And so the king was at last prevailed with to remove sir John Byron, and to put sir John Coniers in the place, who was a man the king had no other exception to, than that he was recommended by them ; which was exception enough : and the yielding to them in it exceedingly raised their spirits, and made them the more insolent.

2 A.

IV. 207, 10, mentioned anon.] *The MS. adds:*
 and to put into that town such companies of the train-bands adjoining as he thought necessary for the keeping that town and the magazine there; his majesty having caused all his ammunition and ordnance the year before, upon the dissolving the armies, and dismantling the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, to be brought to that place; and that he should not suffer any part of that magazine to be delivered to any without warrant from the king, by advice of both houses.

2 B.

V. 89, 7, execution of what he designed.] *The MS. adds:*
 And therefore he sent the duke of York, (who came to him few days before from Richmond by his command,) attended only by a few gentlemen and servants, whereof sir Lewis Dives was one, who had much acquaintance with Hotham, to see the town, and without any other pretence. He was received by sir [J.] Hotham with all respect, and was treated and lodged by him in such a manner as was fit. The next morning the king himself, with a choice number of about twenty or thirty gentlemen, who were appointed to attend by himself, and all others inhibited to go, went from York, and sent word by one of his servants to sir [J.] Hotham, that his majesty would dine with him that day; with which message he was exceedingly surprised and confounded.

The man was of a fearful nature &c. *as in par.* 91, l. 1.

2 C.

V. 89, 8. And being persuaded &c.] *In the MS. of the History this paragraph begins thus:*

Whilst these things were agitating, the king, who found the resort and affections of the north to be answerable to his expectation, and the principal gentlemen to be inclined very heartily and devoutly to his service, and being persuaded &c. *as in par.* 89, l. 8.

2 D.

V. 91, 21, and the bridges drawn.] *The MS. of the Life proceeds thus:*

¹ Sir John Hotham appeared himself upon the wall, and when

the king commanded him to cause the port to be opened, he answered like a distracted man, that no man could understand; he fell upon his knees, used all the execrations imaginable, that the earth would open and swallow him up, if he were not his majesty's most faithful subject; talked of his trust from the parliament, of whose fidelity towards his majesty he was likewise well assured; and in conclusion, he made it evident that he would not permit the king to enter into the town. So that after many messages and answers, for he went himself from the wall, out of an apprehension of some attempt upon his person, the king, after the duke of York, and they who attended him, were permitted to return out of the town; and after he had caused sir John Hotham to be proclaimed a traitor, for keeping the town by force against him, he returned to York, with infinite perplexity of mind, and sent a complaint to the parliament of Hotham's disobedience and rebellion. It was then believed, and Hotham himself made it to be believed, that Mr. Murray, of the bedchamber, who was the messenger sent by the king in the morning, to give sir John Hotham notice that his majesty intended to dine with him, had infused some apprehensions into the man, as if the king meant to use violence towards him, which produced that distemper and resolution in him; but it was never proved, and that person (who was very mysterious in all his actions) continued long after in his majesty's confidence.

- ² As soon as it was known at Westminster what repulse the king had received at Hull, the joy that appeared in their countenances and behaviour cannot be expressed, and their public proceeding in the houses were never so insolent. They declared, by an act of both houses, that sir John Hotham had behaved him honestly, and according to the trust they had reposed in him, and in which they would justify him, and that his behaviour had been according to law; and that the king, in proclaiming him guilty of treason, had again broken their privileges. What passed hereupon, by way of messages and declarations, to which the king always (having notice timely, and all preparations being made whilst the debate held in the houses) sent quick and sharp answers, which were still read in churches, as the parliament had appointed theirs to be. Their proceedings in the militia, and their listing men by virtue thereof, in several places in the country, as well as in the city; their choosing the

earl of Essex to be their general, and declaring that they would live and die with him, and all other preparations towards a war, are the proper subjects of a history of that time, and not fit to be contained in this discourse, though some important particulars cannot be omitted. Nor will it be denied, by any who had the least knowledge of the temper of that time, that from the beginning of those paper skirmishes the king recovered great reputation and advantage over the two houses, whose high proceedings and carriage was in all places exceedingly censured by all persons of honour and great interest; it being very evident, that they were followed and submitted to principally by the meanest of the people. And though some persons of quality and estates, who had, from their prejudice to some particular bishops, contracted a dislike and displeasure against the church itself, and the religion established, followed their party, yet the number of them was not great, and their credit only with some factious preachers, and those poor people who were corrupted by them, and even of those there were few that imagined they should be engaged in a war to compass their desires.

2 E.

V. 116, *last line*, even in defiance of the king.] *The MS. of the History proceeds thus:*

- 1 About this time, or a little before, there was an accident, which, though no man could conceive begat the present distempers, many thought did improve them, added fuel to that fire which otherwise possibly might not have blazed so soon, or in so great a flame. It is remembered, that at the king's going to Hampton-court in January before, he sent to the earls of Essex and Holland to attend him, and that they both refused, that is, neglected to wait on him. During the time that he stayed at Windsor, nor till the queen was shipped from Dover, neither of them came near him. That day he rested at Greenwich, in his way to the north, they came to him, and stayed three or four hours, and returned to Whitehall, where their tables at the king's charge, belonging to their places, were kept, and those especially (if not only) entertained at those tables who were most factious and seditious against the king; and their lordships, in all those conclusions by which the sovereign power was most wounded and contemned, gave their full suffrages. The king being resolved

to free himself from the ignominy of such retainers, or at least to reduce them to some formality of duty, shortly after his coming to York, to which place he had adjourned the solemnization of St. George's feast, when he meant (and accordingly did) install his younger son, the duke of York, a knight of that order, his majesty by special letters required the earl of Essex, the lord chamberlain of his household, and the earl of Holland, the first gentleman of his bedchamber and groom of his stole, to be present at that ceremony, whither both their places and relations required them. Whether they in truth feared any design or attempt upon their persons, which is hardly credible, or (which is more probable) whether they were so conscious of their miscarriages, that they should be displaced if they went, and so would be sure not to lose the favour of king and parliament at once, or (which is most likely) that they were at this time so far interested and engaged with the powerful faction, (who knew well to work by degrees upon their several vanities and infirmities,) that they could not safely retire; they both resolved not to yield obedience to the just summons they had received; but, acquainting the house therewith, for their excuse, procured an absolute inhibition, and to be commanded not to desert the service of that house to attend upon the king, who might better dispense with them. Hereupon, the king, being not disappointed in his expectation, sent a letter to the lord keeper in his own hand, with another enclosed to each of the earls, by which he required them forthwith to come to him, and, in case of refusal, to deliver the ensigns of their offices to the lord keeper, who was likewise required to receive the same. The fearful keeper (whose foundations of courage and reason were strangely shaken) durst not adventure the delivery of the letters, but pretended that it would be interpreted in him a breach of privilege, being a member of that house, and upon that pretence wrote to the king to be excused. But the king would not be thereby drawn to wave his resolution, and therefore sent an express command to his faithful secretary the lord Falkland, to perform that which the other refused; who, without any hesitation, being a most punctual man in his duty, though he was nothing glad of the employment, both as he thought it might inflame the present distemper, and as in his nature he abhorred the doing an unkind or unacceptable thing to

any man, delivered the letters ; and after two or three hours' consideration between themselves, both the lords delivered him the badges of their several offices, the one his staff, the other his key, and so went without those ensigns, which were easily missed, into the house of peers. Great fury and dislike was presently expressed, that the king should put marks of his displeasure upon any persons so eminently in their favour, and a conference desired with the commons upon a matter of great importance, and highly concerning the honour and privilege of parliament ; where the lords declared, that the king had displaced two great officers only for their affection and fidelity to the service of the commonwealth, and that they were to be looked upon as men suffering for doing their duty ; and therefore they had voted (in which they desired the concurrence of the commons) that the displacing those great lords from their offices was an effect of evil counsel ; and being apparently done because they would not desert the service of the house, was a breach of the privilege of parliament ; and that whosoever should presume to take either of those offices was an enemy to the commonwealth, and should be held unworthy of any preferment or place of honour in the kingdom. The commons made no scruple of concurring ; and, according to their usual course in matters of censure, added, that whosoever gave the king that pernicious counsel to remove those lords were enemies to the commonwealth, and should be removed from being near or about his majesty's person. And because the frequent discoursing of evil counsellors carried not that terror with it as they expected, they appointed a solemn day upon which they would name those they conceived (for conceit was enough) to be those evil counsellors, that they might be disabled from doing any farther mischief. Very many, who stood at the nearest distance, and observed the arts and industry that were used to corrupt the affections and to pervert the understandings of the weak, and to heighten the malice and rancour of the wilful, were very sorry for the displacing those two lords, especially the earl of Essex, at that time, believing that it would make him the more capable of being applied to some services against the king which he would else be drawn very hardly to. And the truth is, the violent and governing party, though they seemed very angry, were very much pleased with the accident, imagining that his proud nature would be easily whetted and in-

flamed to such an indignation, that he would henceforward stick at nothing. And it did prove of sovereign use to them, his lordship seeming to believe that the discharging him from his place was the absolving him from any obligation of affection or tenderness, at the least to the king's service. And many who were avowed and professed enemies to the whole course of his friendships and correspondencies, were then, and have been since, persuaded, that if he had been still suffered to have walked with that staff, he would never have rid in those errands he afterwards did; and whilst he had been trusted with the guard of his majesty's person, which he well understood his office to be, that it would not have been possible to have engaged him in the leading an army against him: and then, I am persuaded, how many soever they have since bred up to lead their armies, there was none that at that time could have raised one for them but the earl of Essex. On the other side, they who only looked upon the bold scandals that were every day raised and countenanced, and the disservice that was every day done to his majesty, and observed those two lords to be not only constant concurrers, but active and stirring promoters of the same, thought the king in policy, that his other servants might not by their examples be taught to tread in their paths, (the common disease then of the court,) and in honour, obliged to remove those whom he could not reform, that he might not be thought insensible of the affronts and indignities offered to him; and rather wondered that he did it no sooner than that he did it then. So different were the observations and judgments of men of the same affections and equal understandings.

- 2 It may be wondered, that neither then nor upon many other occasions, when the houses seemed highly inflamed with evil counsellors, and appointed set days for the naming of, [sic] that they never proceeded in that work; especially after they well enough knew the persons who were not of their opinions, and had interest enough to cross their designs, and the courage to condemn them, and when they had resolved that without any allegation of a particular crime their general diffidence (that is, their not confiding) in a man was argument enough to remove him from any office or trust; but their true reason of not daring to meddle with that general of naming evil counsellors was their great care of preserving marquis Hamilton, whom, they discovered,

some (who meant to give shrewd and experimental reasons, not easy to be answered or avoided) resolved to name, and so they waved the general, till some particular accident (how light soever, as in the absurd, unparalleled case of the duke of Richmond) gave them opportunity to be revenged on him whom they desired to destroy.

Compare the above with par. 31—35, which are taken from the MS. of the Life.

2 F.

V. 136. 31. On the contrary, &c.] *Thus originally in MS.:*

On the contrary side, as the church of Rome receives and allows the books of the Maccabees for canonical scripture, because the three last verses of the twelfth chapter of the second book seem to justify or commend the praying for the dead; so whoever concurred, &c.

2 G.

V. 203. 7. A most considerable advantage.] *In the MS. of the History, from which the preceding part is taken, the account of the lord keeper's going to the king is thus continued:*

Of which I must in justice say somewhat, for the memory and honour of the noble person who performed that service, whose modesty made him suffer under a groundless traducement of being compelled, by the confidence of a bold and peremptory undertaker, to what in truth he would not else have yielded unto, and so lost much of that reputation which was unquestionably due to his own merit and integrity. From his recovery of a great sickness, (which seized on him shortly after he was preferred to that great place, and which indeed robbed him for ever of much of that natural vigour and vivacity of mind which he had formerly enjoyed,) his compliance was so great and so visible, not only in not opposing that prevalent sense of the house which was prejudicial to the king, but in concurring with it in his own vote, very much against what his friends thought was agreeable to his understanding, insomuch as the potent and popular lords looked upon him as their own: and the king was so far unsatisfied with his carriage, that once, after his majesty's being at York, he resolved to take the great seal from him, but was contented to be dissuaded from that resolution, partly for the difficulty, it being probable that the attempt would not have succeeded, by the interposition of the extravagant authority of

the two houses, partly that it was not easy to make choice of another fit for that trust, who was like to be more faithful in it, the terror of the parliament having humbled all men to a strange compliance and submission; but especially for that his majesty was assured, by some whom he trusted, that the affection of the lord Littleton was very entire to his service, and his compliance only artificial, to preserve himself in a capacity of serving him; which was true. Whilst this cloud hung over him, one evening I visited him, and speaking freely with him, (as he always gave me great encouragement to do, being well assured I bore a just respect and kindness to him, and well knowing I was not without some trust with his majesty, and of most intimate friendship with some that had more,) I told him the censure and hazard he ran by the notable compliance and correspondence he had with that party, which the king understood to be factious against his just regal power; of some votes in which his lordship had particularly concurred, which were generally understood to be contrary to law, in which his knowledge was unquestionable; mentioning to him a late vote upon the militia, and some declaration or message full of disrespectful language, which had been not long before sent to the king; in both which his concurrence was notorious, and much spoken of. To the particulars he answered by telling me the story and circumstances of the debate, and the manner of his concurrence, which, though it made the matter more specious on his behalf than was generally reported, he well discerned gave me no satisfaction in the main; whereupon he said, "I will deal freely with you, and tell you my heart; and if upon consideration you think the course I take be not most advantageous to the king, I will do as I shall be advised." He then told me the straits he was in; that the governing lords had a terrible apprehension of the king's sending for the great seal, and that nothing but his fair deportment towards them, and seeming to be of their mind, prevented their taking the seal in their own custody; allowing it only to be with him whilst he sat in the house and in the court; that they had made some order to that purpose if by his interest with them he had not prevented it, well knowing that it would prove most fatal to the king, who, he foresaw, must be shortly compelled to wish the great seal with him for many reasons. "Now," said he, "let it be considered, whether my voting with them in such particulars

which my not voting with them cannot prevent, be of equal prejudice to the king with the seal's being put into such a condition that the king shall never be able to get it when it is most necessary for him, which undoubtedly will be the case, when, by my carriage and opposition against them, their confidence towards me shall be lessened." To which he added, that when he failed to serve the king in an article of moment, or to come to him when he sent for him, he would be worthily censured. The substance of this discourse was not long concealed from the king, who shortly after (his occasions requiring it) sent a gentleman with a warrant to receive the seal, and a very kind letter, all under the king's own hand to the lord keeper, to require him to make all possible haste to him; which message his lordship was so well prepared to receive, and resolved to obey, that he went purposely out of the town to his house in the country, fifteen miles out of London, upon pretence to take the air for his health, on Saturday night, when the gentleman employed in that errand came to him, and received the seal from him; his lordship very early on Sunday morning taking another way on horseback; and arrived safe at York with his majesty the next day after the gentleman had delivered the seal to his majesty with some expressions of his own dexterity and courage in the service, which had no other ground than the confidence of the relator, who, I presume, without malice to the person of the lord keeper, thought only of doing himself good, and drawing such a reward as might be proportionable to the merit of the work, according to the account he gave of it; which report got the more credit by some indisposition and visible dejectedness of the keeper upon his coming to York, and that the seal for a long time was not redelivered to him, though never used but in his presence, but always kept in the king's bedchamber; whereas the first proceeded (besides that he was never a good courtier) from the habit of awe and terror which he had contracted at Westminster, and which he could not speedily shake off, and so was not without some hesitation in the fixing the seal to some proclamations which were in a higher dialect than had used to pass his hand; of which wariness his adversaries made use to his prejudice; and the other was only that the seal being in so secure a place as the king's own bedchamber, no attempt might be made, by the treachery of a friend or the infidelity of a servant, to

carry it back to London; which no vigilance of the keeper himself, in those narrow accommodations all men were supplied with there, could probably have prevented. And from this security, in no wise intended as a reproach to the keeper, his lordship had so great ease and quiet, that when the king (understanding that it was talked of abroad as proceeding from his majesty's distrust of the keeper) sent for him, and would have delivered it to him, assuring him that his confidence was as great in him as ever, the lord keeper besought his majesty that he would not expose him to so much anxiety as must accompany that charge in the danger and hazard of a march, when it was not possible for any care of his to prevent the possibility of its being stolen or forced from him, but that it might be continued in the same safety under his majesty's own care, till he were fixed in such a place as he might be reasonably responsible for it; and so when his majesty was settled in Oxford, where the lord keeper had convenient accommodation of lodgings, the seal was redelivered to him, and remained in his hands till his death. As soon as it was known to the two houses that the lord keeper was gone to the king, that is, on Monday morning, the 23d of May, the lords in great fury made this following order: "It is this day ordered by the lords in parliament, that the gentleman usher attending this house, or his deputy, shall forthwith take into custody the right honourable Edward lord Littleton, and bring him and the great seal of England (if it be in his custody) before the lords in parliament." Which order was directed to the gentleman usher attending the house, or his deputy, and to all mayors, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other his majesty's officers, to be aiding and assisting to the said gentleman usher and his deputies; which was a strange warrant to be sent about the country, as this very carefully was, for the apprehension of a lord keeper of the great seal of England, who, according to the trust reposed in him, was gone to wait upon the king his master. All which circumstances, &c. *as in par.* 214, l. 26.

2 H.

V. 206, l. 1, Mr. Hyde, &c.] *Thus originally in the MS.:*

Mr. Hyde had always borne a great respect to him, and had endeavoured to introduce a familiarity and conversation between him and the lord Falkland and sir Jo. Culpepper from the time

of their coming to the board, and carried them to dinner to him; which he embraced with great inclination: but it can hardly be imagined that a gentleman who had always conversed with the best men, and had so great experience in business, could be so unskilful and ungracious in drawing a value and estimation of himself from other men, or that could appear so little acquainted with the common affairs of the world, or the nature of mankind: and his concurrence in that vote of the militia (which was touched before) took away all reverence towards him from those two noble persons, insomuch as they thought it not safe to trust him with any free discourse: Mr. Hyde was as much troubled &c. *as in par. 206, l. 3.*

2 I.

V. 363. *last line*, poured upon them. But to return.] *The MS. of the History continues thus:*

- I The king finding that they proceeded with their usual vigour to increase their power, and that, notwithstanding his proclamation against the execution of the ordinance for the militia, and his declaration against their propositions for plate, money, and horses, they made a wonderful progress in both, declaring his proclamations to be illegal, and confidently promising to save all men harmless who should join or concur with them, and that whilst he relied upon the laws to defend his right and prerogative, the laws themselves stood equally in want of defence, his majesty resolved, without raising any other force, to exercise his own lawful power over the settled militia of the kingdom; and because the usual commissions to lord lieutenants of counties had been blasted by the votes of the two houses as illegal, by the advice of his counsel learned at law, he resolved to issue out commissions of array, grounded upon a statute made in the fifth year of king Henry the Fourth, and in the very words in Latin prescribed by that statute, whereby the persons named and authorized in that commission had power to arm and marshal and conduct all such within that county who were able to bear arms and fit for the service of the war; but by special instructions under his majesty's hand, annexed to each commissioner, only the train-bands were appointed to be trained, and in readiness with such volunteers who were willing to be listed under gentlemen of quality and integrity, whom the commissioners had power to make colonels or captains over them: and thus com-

missions of array were issued into the next adjacent counties, where they were most busy in the execution of the ordinance; and others prepared for the more remote parts; that for the county of Leicester being the first, bearing date the 11th day of June. This was no sooner known, and known it was, and was to be very quickly, but the lords and commons published their votes of the 18th and 20th of the same month, (so little time they took to inquire into the law,) that that commission of array for Leicester was against law, and against the liberty and property of the subject; to which, two days after, according to their method of improving the sense of the house, they added, that all those that were actors in the putting of the commission of array in execution should be esteemed as disturbers of the peace of the kingdom, and betrayers of the liberty of the subject; which votes, together with the commission of array, (that so all other commissions might be examined by it in the counties to which they were sent,) they caused to be forthwith printed and published throughout the kingdom. That vote of the illegality had the greater authority amongst the people, because it passed with the consent and by the industry of some of whose learning and integrity they had a good assurance, and who, at the same time, with more confidence and passion, opposed the execution of the ordinance of the militia as at least equally unlawful: and the truth is, I have reason to believe, (though I presume they were likewise persuaded in their conscience that the commission of array was not according to the intention of the law,) that their confidence, that by arguing against that commission they should clearly evince the exorbitancy and extravagancy of the ordinance, (as indeed every argument against the one was a demonstration against the other,) and it may be some assurance from some leaders who served their turns always by making private promises and undertakings, that the one being suppressed the other should be declined, engaged them to a greater activity in it than otherwise they were inclined to; for they were punctual observers of the laws and customs of the kingdom, and heartily abhorred the violent and seditious humours which then governed, and therefore never concurred to the second vote, of declaring the commissioners disturbers of the peace and betrayers of the liberty of the subject.

² What was said by the lawyers of either side against the one

and the other, and in maintenance of what themselves advised, and how the law was understood to be in that point of the militia, by those who sadly and dispassionately weighed it with the constitution of the kingdom, shall be in another place at large set down, with the discussion of other things of the same nature. For the better manifesting the matters of right, throughout these fatal contentions, it will be here only necessary to add, that neither party thought fit to rest satisfied with the arguments which were applied against it. But the king resolved, if they proceeded in their ordinance, to execute his commission of array, which he hoped would at least produce that doubt and suspension in the people's minds, that they would not cheerfully submit to either, but keep themselves in the quiet posture they were in, without interrupting the public peace; and that was the wished fruit he expected. The houses, on the other side, were confident of their own power, (at least they thought it necessary to put it to the utmost test,) and that their votes were sufficient to cancel the commission of array, and the execution of their ordinance was the only way to invest them in the possession of the militia, without which they entertained no hope of compassing their designs; and so made all possible haste to advance that great work.

- 4 They had from the king's first coming to York used all possible endeavour by their underhand agents, and afterwards by their committee resident there, to corrupt and infect the people of that county with the same apprehensions and jealousies by which they were governed, that his majesty might receive some discouragement in his confidence of the affection of that people; and to that purpose some obscure but active people had at all meetings discovered some averseness from that alacrity generally shewed by the gentry and men of quality to the king's service, and dislike of the proceedings of the parliament; and at the great and general convention of the whole county near York, about the beginning of June, where they shewed all imaginable affection and sense of the ill usage his majesty underwent, sir Thomas Fairfax, (better known since than he was then,) attended with very few, and those of very mean quality, offered in the public place of meeting to present a petition to the king, which his majesty (being informed that the same was not prepared by any consent of the county, but in a clandestine way by a few

factionous persons) received not; of which immediately the houses taking notice, and for the support and encouragement of their party there, sent a petition, solemnly presented by their committee, to the king, in these words :

5 “Your majesty’s most humble and faithful subjects, the lords and commons assembled in parliament, have lately received a petition from a great number of the gentry, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the county of York, assembled there by your majesty’s command, the 3d of June; wherein they declare unto us, that, having taken a resolution to address themselves unto your majesty in the humble way of a petition, for the redress of those grievances which they now lie under, they were violently interrupted and affronted therein by the earl of Lindsey, the lord Saville, and others; and notwithstanding all the means they could use to present their just desires to your majesty, yet they could not prevail with your majesty to accept of their petition; the copy whereof they have sent to us, with an humble desire that we would take such course therein as may tend to the preservation of their liberties and the peace of the kingdom; and that we would address ourselves to your majesty in their behalf, that, by our means, their desires may find better acceptance with your majesty.

6 “Whereupon having seriously weighed and considered the particulars of those their complaints and desires, as they are laid down in their petition, and finding that their grievances they complain of are the increase of the miseries formerly sustained by that county, (which hath, well nigh for three years last past, been the tragical stage of armies and war,) by reason of your majesty’s distance in residence and difference in counsels from your great council the parliament, begetting great distempers and distractions throughout the kingdom, and especially in that county; the drawing to those parts great numbers of discontented persons, that may too justly be feared do affect the public ruin for their private advantage; the drawing together of many companies of the trained bands, and others, both horse and foot, of that county, and retaining multitudes of commanders and cavaliers from other parts; the daily resort of recusants to your majesty’s court at York; the great preparation of arms and other warlike provisions, to the great terror and amazement of your majesty’s peaceable subjects, and causing a great decay of trade and commerce amongst them: all and every of which particulars are against the law, which your majesty hath made so many and so frequent professions to uphold and maintain :

7 “And the lords and commons finding, on the other side, their hum-

ble desires to be, that your majesty would hearken to your parliament, and, declining all other counsels whatsoever, unite your confidence to your parliament; and that your majesty would not divide your subjects' joint duty to your majesty, the parliament, and kingdom; nor destroy the essence of your great council and highest court, by subjecting the determinations and counsels thereof to the counsels and opinions of any private persons whatsoever; that your majesty having passed an act that this parliament shall not be dissolved but by act of parliament, your majesty would not do any thing tending thereunto, by commanding away the lords and great officers whose attendance is necessary thereunto: that your majesty, having expressed your confidence in the affections of that county, you would please to dismiss your extraordinary guards, and the cavaliers and others of that quality, who seem to have little interest or affection to the public good, their language and behaviour speaking nothing but division and war, and their advantage consisting in that which is most destructive to others:

8 “And, lastly, That in such consultations and propositions as your majesty maketh to that county, such may not be thrust upon them as men of that county that neither by their fortune or residence are any part of it.

9 “All which their humble and most just desires being according to law, which your majesty hath so often declared should be the measure and rule of your government and actions; and we, your majesty's most faithful subjects, the lords and commons, fully concurring with the gentlemen and others of the county of York, in their assurance that those desires of theirs will abundantly redound to the glory of God, the honour and safety of your majesty, the good of your posterity, and the peace and prosperity of this kingdom, we humbly beseech your majesty graciously to hearken unto them, and to grant them; and that you would join with your parliament in a speedy and effectual course for the preservation of their liberties and the peace of the kingdom, which duty, as we are now called upon by that county to discharge, so do we stand engaged to God and man for the performance thereof, by the trust reposed in us, and by our solemn vow and protestation; and your majesty, together with us, stands engaged by the like obligation of trust, and of an oath, besides the many and earnest professions and protestations which your majesty hath made to this purpose, to your whole kingdom in general, and to that county in particular; the peace and quiet of the kingdom (as is well observed by these gentlemen and freeholders of Yorkshire in their petition) being the only means, under God, wherein consists the preservation of the protestant religion, the redemption of our brethren in Ireland, and the happiness and prosperity of your majesty and of all your dominions.”

To which petition the king immediately dispatched this answer :

10 “That having carefully weighed the matter of it, though he might refer the petitioners to his two last declarations, wherein most of the particulars in this petition are fully answered, or might refuse to give any answer at all, till he had received satisfaction in those high indignities he hath so often complained of, and demanded justice for ; yet, that all the world may see how desirous his majesty is to leave no act, which seems to carry the reputation of both his houses of parliament, and in the least degree to reflect upon his majesty’s justice and honour, unanswered, is graciously pleased to return this answer :

11 “That if the petition mentioned to be presented to both houses of parliament had been annexed to this now delivered to him, his majesty might have discerned the number and the quality of the petitioners, which his majesty hath great reason to believe was not in truth so considerable as is pretended; for his majesty assures you, that he hath never refused any petition so attested as that would be thought to be : but his majesty well remembers, that on the third of June, when there was, upon his majesty’s summons, the greatest and the most cheerful concourse of people that ever was beheld of one county, appearing before him at York, a gentleman (one sir Thomas Fairfax) offered, in that great confluence, a petition to his majesty; which his majesty, seeing to be avowed by no man but himself, and the general and universal acclamations of the people seeming to disclaim it, did not receive, conceiving it not to be of so public a nature as to be fit to be presented or received in that place. And his majesty is most confident (and in that must appeal to those were then present) that whatever the substance of that petition was, it was not consented to by any considerable number of gentry or freeholders of this county; but solicited by a few mean inconsiderable persons, and disliked and visibly discountenanced by the great body of the known gentry, clergy, and inhabitants of this whole county. And if the matter of that petition were such as is suggested in this, his majesty hath great reason to believe it was framed and contrived (as many others of such nature have been) in London, not in Yorkshire. For sure no gentleman of quality and understanding, of this county, would talk of his great preparations of arms, and other warlike provisions, to the great terror and amazement of his peaceable subjects, when they are witnesses of the violent taking his arms from him, and stopping all ways for bringing more to him : and if there were no greater terror and amazement of his majesty’s peaceable subjects, in other places, by such preparations and provisions, there would be no more cause to complain of a great decay of trade and commerce there than is in this place : but his majesty hath so great an assurance of the

fidelity and general affections of his good subjects of this county, (which he hopes will prove exemplar to his whole kingdom,) that he hath great cause to believe that they do rather complain of his majesty's confidence and of his slowness; that whilst there is such endeavour abroad to raise horse, and to provide arms against his majesty, and that endeavour put in execution, his majesty trusts so much to the justice of his cause and the affections of his people, and neglects to provide strength to assist that justice and to protect those affections. For any affronts offered by the earl of Lindsey or the lord Saville to those who intended to petition his majesty, his majesty wishes that both his houses of parliament would have examined that information, and the credit of the informers, with that gravity and deliberation, as in cases which concern the innocence and the honour of persons of such quality hath been accustomed, before they had proscribed two peers of the realm, and exposed them (as much as in them lay) to the rage and fury of the people, under the character of being enemies to the commonwealth, a brand newly found out (and of no legal signification) to incense the people by, and with which the innocency of former times was not acquainted: and his majesty hath some reason to believe they would have found themselves as much abused in the report concerning those lords, as he is sure they are in those which tell them of the resort of great numbers of discontented persons to him, and of the other particulars mentioned to be in that petition; whereas they who observe what resort is here to his majesty well know it to be of the prime gentlemen of all the counties of England, whom nothing but the love of religion, the care of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, besides their affection to his person, could engage into the great journeys, trouble, and expense; men of as precious reputation and as exemplary lives as this nation hath any, whose assistance his majesty knows he must not expect if he should have the least design against honour and justice; and such witnesses his majesty desires to have of all his actions.

- 12 "For the declining all other counsels, and the uniting his confidence to his parliament, his majesty desires both his houses of parliament seriously and sadly to consider, that it is not the name of a great or little council that makes the results of that council just or unjust; neither can the imputation upon his majesty, of not being advised by his parliament, (especially since all their actions and all their orders are exposed to the public view,) long mislead his good subjects, except in truth they see some particular sound advice, necessary to the peace and happiness of the commonwealth, disesteemed by his majesty; and such an instance, he is most assured, neither can nor shall be given; and that they will think it merit in his majesty from the commonweal to reject such counsels as would persuade him to make himself none of the three

estates, by giving up his negative voice, to allow them a power superior to that which the law hath given him, whensoever it pleaseth the major part present of both houses to say that he doth not discharge his trust as he ought, and to subject his and his subjects' unquestionable right and propriety to their votes, without and against law, upon the mere pretence of necessity. And his majesty must appeal to all the world who it is that endeavours to divide the joint duty of his subjects; his majesty, who requires nothing but what their own duty, guided by the infallible rule of the law, leads them to do; or they, who by orders and votes (opposite and contradictory to law, custom, precedent, and reason) so confound the affections and understandings of his good subjects, that they know not how to behave themselves with honesty and safety, whilst their consciences will not suffer them to submit to the one, nor their security to apply themselves to the other.

13 "It is not the bare saying that his majesty's actions are against the law (with which he is reproached in this petition, as if he departed from his often protestations to that purpose) must conclude him, there being no one such particular in that petition alleged of which his majesty is in the least degree guilty. Whether the same reverence and esteem be paid by you to the law (except your own votes be judge) needs no other evidence than those many, very many, orders, published in print, both concerning the church and state; those long imprisonments of several persons, without hearing them, upon general information, and the great unlimited fees to your officers, worse than the imprisonment, and the arbitrary censure upon them when they are admitted to be heard: let the law be judge by whom it is violated.

14 "For that part of the petition which seems to accuse his majesty of a purpose to dissolve this parliament, (contrary to the act for the continuance,) by commanding away the lords and great officers whose attendance is necessary; which his majesty well knows to be a calumny, by which the grand contrivers of ruin of the state hope to seduce the minds of the people from their affection to, or into jealousy of, his majesty, as if he meant this way to bring this parliament (which may be the case of all parliaments) to nothing; it is not possible for his majesty more to express his affection to and his resolution for the freedom, liberty, and frequency of parliaments, than he hath done: and whoever considers how visible it must be to his majesty, that it is impossible for him to subsist without the affections of his people, and that those affections cannot possibly be preserved, or made use of, but by parliaments, cannot give the least credit, or have the least suspicion, that his majesty would choose any other way to the happiness he desires for himself and his posterity, but by parliaments.

15 "But for his calling the lords hither, or any others absenting them-

selves who have not been called, whoever considers the tumults (which no votes or declaration can make to be no tumults) by which his majesty was driven away, and many members of either house in danger of their lives ; the demanding the names of those lords who would not consent to their propositions by message from the house of commons delivered at the bar by Mr. Hollis ; with that most tumultuous petition in the name of many thousands, (among many other of the same kind,) directed to the house of commons, and sent up by them to the house of lords, taking notice of the prevalence of a malignant faction which made abortive all their good motions which tended to the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom ; desiring that those noble worthies of the house of peers, who concurred with them in their happy votes, might be earnestly desired to join with that honourable house, and to sit and vote as one entire body ; professing, that unless some speedy remedy were taken for the removal of all such obstructions as hindered the happy progress of their great endeavours, their petitioners should not rest in quietness ; but should be enforced to lay hold on the next remedy which was at hand, to remove the disturbers of their peace ; and (want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty) not to leave any means unassayed for their relief ; adding, that the cry of the poor and needy was, that such persons who were the obstacles of their peace, and hinderers of the happy proceedings of this parliament, might be forthwith publicly declared ; whose removal, they conceived, would put a period to these distractions. Upon which, a great number of lords departing, the vote in order to the ordinance concerning the militia was immediately passed, though it had been twice before put to the question, and rejected by the votes of such of the major part of that house. And whoever considers the strange orders, votes, and declarations which have since passed, to which whosoever would not consent, that is, with liberty and freedom of language and reason profess against, was in danger of censure and imprisonment, will not blame our care in sending for them, or theirs in coming, or absenting themselves from being involved in such conclusions. Neither will it be any objection, that they stayed there long after any tumults were, and therefore that the tumults drove them not away : if every day produced orders and resolutions as illegal as, and indeed but the effects of, the tumults, there was no cause to doubt the same power would be ready to prevent any opposition to those orders after they were made, which had made way and preparation for the propositions of them ; and so whosoever conceived himself in danger of future tumults (against which there is not the least provision) was driven away by those which were past. And his majesty hath more reason to wonder at those who stay behind, after all his legal power is voted from him, and all the people told that he might be, with modesty and duty enough, deposed, than any

man hath at those who have been willing to withdraw themselves from the place where such desperate and dangerous positions are avowed ; which his majesty doth not mention with the least thought of lessening the power or validity of any act to which he hath given his assent this parliament, all and every of which he shall as inviolably observe as he looks to have his own rights preserved, but to shew by what means so many strange orders have of late been made : and to shew how earnestly his majesty desires to be present at, and to receive advice from, both houses of parliament, (against whom it shall never bein the power of a malignant party to incense his majesty,) his majesty again offers his consent that both houses may be adjourned to another place which may be thought convenient, where his majesty will be present, and doubts not but the members of either house will make a full appearance ; and even the intermission which must attend such an adjournment may not be the least means of recovering that temper which is necessary for such debates.

- 16 “ And this his majesty conceives to be so very necessary, that if the minds and inclinations of every member of either house were equally composed, the licence is so great that the mean people about London and the suburbs have taken, that, both for the liberty and dignity of parliament, that convention, for a time, should be in another place. And sure, how much soever the safety and security of this kingdom depends on parliaments, it will never be thought that those parliaments must of necessity be at Westminster.
- 17 “ His majesty’s confidence is no less than he hath expressed (and hath great cause to express) in the affections of this county; an instance of which affections all men know his own guard (which is not extraordinary) to be ; and wonders that such a legal guard, at his charge, for his person, (within twenty miles of a rebellion, and of an army in pay against him,) should be objected by those, who, for so many months, and in a place of known and confessed security, have, without and against law, kept a guard for themselves, at the charge of the commonwealth, and upon that stock of money which was given for the relief of the miserable and bleeding condition of Ireland, or the payment of the great debt due to our kingdom of Scotland.
- 18 “ For the resort of papists to the court, his majesty’s great care for the prevention thereof is notoriously known : that when he was informed two or three of his intended guard were of that religion, he gave especial direction, with expressions of his displeasure, that they should be immediately discharged ; and provided that no person should attend on him, under that relation, but such as took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ; that he commanded the sheriff to proceed with all severity, according to the law, against all papists that should

come within five miles of the court; and if, notwithstanding this, there be any papists near the court, (which his majesty assures you he knows not, nor hath heard, but by this petition,) he doth hereby command them to depart; and declares to all officers and ministers of justice, that they shall proceed strictly against them, according to the law, and as they will answer the contrary at their perils.

19 “For the language and behaviour of the cavaliers, (a word, by what mistake soever, it seems, much in disfavour,) there hath not been the least complaint here; and therefore it is probable the fault was not found in this county. Neither can his majesty imagine what is meant by the mention of any men thrust upon them, in such consultations and propositions as his majesty makes to this county, who are neither by their fortune or residence any part of it; and therefore can make no answer to it.

20 “To conclude: his majesty assures you, he hath never refused to receive any petition, (whether you have or no, yourselves best know,) and will consider what reputation it will be to you of justice or ingenuity, to receive all petitions, how senseless and scandalous soever, of one kind, under pretence of understanding the good people’s minds and affections, and not only refuse the petition, but punish the petitioners of another kind, under colour that it is a crime that they are not satisfied with your sense; as if you were only trusted by the people of one opinion, to take all pains to publish and print petitions which agree with your wishes, though they were never presented; and to use the same industry and authority to keep those that indeed were presented and avowed from being published, (though by our own authority,) because the argument is not pleasant to you; to pretend impartiality and infallibility, and to express the greatest passion and affection in the order of your proceeding, and no less error and misunderstanding in your judgments and resolutions.

21 “He doth remember well the obligation of his trust and of his oath; and desires that you will do so too, and your own solemn vow and protestation; and then you will not only think it convenient, but necessary, to give his majesty a full reparation for all the scandals laid upon him, and all the scandalous positions made against him; and that it is less dishonour to retract errors, than, by avowing, to confess the malice of them; and will see this to be the surest way for the preservation of the protestant religion, the redemption of our brethren in Ireland, the happiness and prosperity of yourselves and of all our dominions, and of the dignity and freedom of parliament.”

2 J.

V. 371, last line, upon which their security was built.] *What follows in the text is taken from the MS. of the Life. The continuation, according to the MS. of the History, is as follows :*

As this severe joining issue upon two points, in which both sides were so deeply engaged, made it now evident, that one must either retract and recant what they had said and done, or make it good by the sword ; so at this time an accident happened (about the end of June) that hastened the crisis. When sir John Pennington had conveyed the queen's majesty over into Holland the February before, he had left the Providence (a ship of the fourth rank) under the command of captain Straughan, (an honest and a faithful Scotchman,) to attend her majesty's command from time to time in the ports there ; and after the king's repair into the north, he had passed once or twice with letters and messages between their majesties, and at this time was to convoy a small catch, laden with powder and arms, (which the queen by ready money, upon the pawn of her jewels, had provided there,) to the king. The parliament, (for by that name, how improperly soever, I must call the opposite party,) knowing from the beginning of that ship's lying at the Sluice to execute the queen's commands, and being exactly advertised, from time to time, of the pawning and sale of the jewels, of the providing ammunition, and indeed of whatsoever was done by any of her majesty's ministers, or said by herself, (so good instruments they had abroad,) had appointed their admiral, the earl of Warwick, (who needed no animadversions to be vigilant to disserve the king,) that he should take care that that ship were diligently waited on, and the northern coast as carefully guarded, that no ammunition, or other things, should be sent to the king ; so that the Providence was no sooner at sea with the other catch, than she was chased by the king's own ships as an enemy, and was forced, by their close pursuit, into the mouth of the river of Humber ; so that the ships which followed being at her stern, and the town of Hull, and the ships and pinnaces which lay there, at her head, they looked upon ship and catch and ammunition as their own lawful prize, and with great triumph and clamour threatened execution to all the men that were aboard, of what condition soever. But the dexterous and trusty

Straughan, well knowing where he was, derided their insolence ; and finding that his own ship drew much less water than those bigger that pursued him, took advantage of a small creek of the river which inclined more to the land, and three or four miles before he came to Hull ran himself and the catch on ground, when the other thought him even in their possession, which could not now come near him. They who were aboard, with the same dexterity with which the captain had brought them thither, landed in the evening, and with marvellous expedition, with the help of the country people, who affectionately flocked to them, before the morning raised such a work for the security of themselves and their vessels, that the garrison of Hull, with all their horse and foot, and shallops and seamen, durst not adventure to assault them ; which, without doubt, had been most easy to have been done, and so to have crushed all probable hopes of his majesty's ever getting farther supplies of that kind. This being within twenty miles of York and four of Hull, the king quickly received advertisements of this arrival, which he had long impatiently expected, and as soon sent such aid thither, that the ammunition and guns, and whatsoever was useful, was quickly and securely brought on shore, and by degrees to York ; the ship being left to them who had the power of the seas, and had so fairly compounded in suffering the king to receive all he could then make use of, having no port so much at his devotion that he could have wished the vessel in. The fame and reputation of this supply was much greater than the supply itself ; for besides three hundred barrels of powder, and two demi-cannons, (which the prince of Orange sent to the king as a present,) and those brass pieces, which were taken out of the ship, the arms and other provisions were very small ; but the opinion, that there was money and arms, and whatsoever was necessary for a war, put a marvellous alacrity into all men, who seemed not now to doubt that the king would be quickly master of all he desired, since he had ammunition, the want whereof they only apprehended. And now his majesty thought it time to resent some ill usage, of which he had hitherto scarce taken any public notice, which was the disposal of his navy, so contrary to his royal and express pleasure, by him whom he had only trusted, and who he thought might have prevented the violence which was offered to him. From the time that the earl of Warwick had been in-

trusted with the fleet, instead of guarding the coasts from foreign enemies, the king had found himself only besieged by his own navy, and to be so far from being lord of the seas, that he was the only person to whom the sea was not free, by the strength and power of his own royal fleet; all vessels searched as enemies which were suspected to be employed in his service, and letters directed to himself from the queen, as others formerly from others to her majesty had been, seized, opened, and read: yet he thought it not fit to impute the fault to him who was mediately and originally guilty of the whole, in his judgment, the earl of Northumberland, who, notwithstanding his public compliance at Westminster, was industrious underhand, by his friends, to persuade his majesty that he was not so faulty as he was supposed to be, at least that he made no doubt of an opportunity, by some signal service, to redeem all his errors, and to repair the damage [he] had received by his confidence in him. And truly I have reason to believe that at that time his lordship's heart went not with those violent proceedings which were every day concluded, and that he discovered himself to be abused by those of whose intentions he had had a better persuasion. But now the chasing that ship of his majesty's own, and known to be employed in his especial service, with those circumstances of insolence and hostility, put the court and country into a liberty of discourse, as if the king were too remiss in the care of himself; and his majesty understood that he suffered more in foreign parts, many saying, that the king could not reasonably expect any assistance from his allies, when the greatest acts of hostility were performed against him by those who pretended not, or in truth had not, any power or authority for what they did, but such as was derived from his own commission; so that, both for his honour and security, he concluded that it was necessary to revoke and supersede the patent of admiral, granted to the earl of Northumberland. But the secret transaction of the same as much concerned him: for there was no doubt, if the parliament should have the least inkling of such his majesty's intentions, they would quickly, by an ordinance, attempt the possessing themselves of his navy, as they had of the militia by land; and therefore, though it were a matter of so great importance as was fit to be consulted in council, yet it was evident, that by such a communication the service would miscarry, the earl

having many friends there, who, if they could not dissuade the resolution, would be sure to give speedy advertisement of it.

2 K.

V. 376, *last line*, any such alteration.] *The MS. of the Life continues thus:*

- 1 Mr. Edward Villiers was appointed to deliver the revocation to the earl of Northumberland, and Mr. May was to deliver the letters to the several captains of the fleet, and the full despatches were delivered to the messengers. But sir John Pennington, upon the second thoughts, caused the whole despatch to be altered when the messengers were upon their horses. His first exception was not unreasonable: it was a long journey from York to the fleet, and it was to be made in a short time. For as soon as the revocation should be delivered to the earl of Northumberland, it was discerned, that if the fleet were not secured the same time, there would quickly be sent new orders from the parliament. The weather was very hot, being about the beginning of July, and sir John Pennington was not young, nor had been used much to riding: if he should fall sick upon the way, or be taken prisoner, which was probable enough, the captains, having no other directions in their letters but to follow his orders, would not know what to do: and therefore he desired the king that every captain might be required in his letter, immediately upon receipt of it, to weigh his anchors, and to make all possible [haste] to Burlington Bay, where they should receive further orders. The reasons for this advice were very good, and the letters were all prepared accordingly in a short time. But the reasons which he gave were not the reasons which moved him. He had no mind to expose himself, in the first shock, to the personal undertaking to dispossess the earl of Warwick, and prevailed with the king (who suspected no such thing) to give him leave, if he found any indisposition of health, upon so long a journey, made in so short a time, to rest at the seaside, and to send sir Harry Palmer, who was comptroller of the navy, and of unquestionable loyalty to the king, to take possession of the fleet, and to observe his directions, till he could himself come to him; which was absolutely the ruin of the service, as will appear anon. But the king, who knew his fidelity that never deceived him, had an extraordinary opinion of his other abilities, never made scruple of granting his desire, without so much as commu-

nicating to the rest, who had prepared the several despatches; and so, after the loss of four and twenty hours, Mr. Villiers prosecuted his journey to London; and sir John Pennington and Mr. May took the nearest way together, to that part of Essex which was nearest the Downs, and to the place where they looked to find sir H. Palmer. The earl of Northumberland received the revocation with that gravity and duty that became him; said he did obey it, and wished that it might prove to the good of the king's service; and gave immediate directions for the quitting and removing all those marks and ensigns which attended and were used by the person of the admiral of England. The parliament looked upon it with their usual insolence as a new affront and assault upon their authority, and exceedingly importuned the earl to receive and continue in the office by their grant and an ordinance of both houses. But they could not prevail with him, who thought it not agreeable to his honour to hold the possession of an office against the king's will, from whose bounty he had received it; and they forebore pressing, or being angry with his refusal; which was a respect they would have given to no other man, well knowing that it was much easier to mislead than to convert him, and that they should still have advantage from his concurrence in other things, though not in this: and so they immediately made the earl of Warwick high admiral of England by their ordinance; and used all possible expedition in sending it to him at the fleet, together with a declaration to the seamen, by which they obliged them to continue firm to their service, and to an entire obedience of the earl of Warwick, both which was [were] sent by some of their own members. Sir John Pennington made not so much haste, but first sent Mr. May and then sir H. Palmer on board the fleet, to feel the pulses, and, upon pretence of indisposition, concealed himself at land. When Mr. May came thither, he found the conjuncture more favourable than he could expect. The weather being very fair, the earl of Warwick was that day gone on shore to a jolly dinner, in which he naturally took great delight, at a gentleman's house, who lived five or six miles from the shore, and had taken several of the officers with him; so that he had time and opportunity to deliver all his letters to the several captains, many of whom received them with all alacrity, as orders they had expected: and there seemed great reason to believe, that if sir [J.] Pennington

had been then present, who had a greater interest in the common seamen than any other person, having commanded them so many years, he might have carried all the fleet whither he would. Batten, whom the king had made surveyor of his navy, was vice-admiral of the fleet, and commanded in chief during the absence of the earl, and upon whom the parliament's confidence was placed as much at least as in the earl. He was a man of a rough nature, and no breeding but that of a common mariner, from whence he came to be master of a ship in the service of the merchants; in which he had made many long voyages with good success, and with the reputation of courage and conduct: from which station he was by the mistake of that time raised to the king's service. He received the king's letter with his natural rudeness, and without speaking a word; but instantly sent a trusty messenger on shore, to let the earl know what was fallen out, and calling those about him of whom he was most confident, they sent their emissaries on board those ships whose officers were most suspected to be at the king's devotion, to dispose the common seamen to disobey their commands. But this poison would not have wrought so soon, if the captains, who were well resolved, had done their parts, and immediately weighed their anchors, and stood with their ships to the north, without considering any thing but the performance of their own duties, according to the directions they had received. But being men of no understanding and parts, how good soever their affections were, they wasted time in sending one to another, whose resolutions they were acquainted with, making no doubt but that they could execute their part at any time. Sir John Mennes, who was of clear and unalterable affection, which appeared on all occasions, and was of much the best parts amongst them, was at that time on shore with the earl of Warwick; and they had a great desire to have him, who was rear-admiral of the fleet, in their company; and they had heard some mention of sir John Pennington to be on the shore, ready to come to them, all which disturbed or delayed the execution of what they resolved to do. So that the earl of Warwick, who made all the haste he could after the advertisement, found his fleet still together, with what irresolutions soever divided, suffered not sir John Mennes to go to his own ship, but took him with him on board the admiral, whither he sent for all the captains to attend him: and he had

not been long there, when his new commission and declaration were brought to him by members of parliament; which he made haste to publish; and so wrought upon the seamen, that they delivered up all their captains and other officers who refused to go to him upon his summons, and thought then to have carried their ships away, when it was too late, and whom he sent presently on shore to follow their own inclinations, and put other officers into their places. He used all the persuasions he could to sir John Mennes, whom he and every body loved, to induce him to continue his command under his new commission, which he refusing to do, he caused a boat to set him on shore, without permitting him to go to his own ship: and so all the officers took a new oath of fidelity to the parliament without any reservation. Rytheby and Stradlin were with two excellent ships upon the coast of Ireland for that guard, and were entirely devoted to the king's service; but they no sooner endeavoured to bring off their ships to the king, but they were seized upon by the seamen, and kept prisoners, till they could be sent to land. And in this manner the king was fatally bereft of all his royal navy, in a time when their coming off might have turned the scale, and probably have disposed the parliament to hearken to terms of accommodation: for there were many who appeared as violent as the rest against the king, who therefore did it upon the belief that the king could never bring it to a war; and he no sooner appeared to have any advantage, and to be able to make any opposition, but they were glad to entertain any treaty; which the power of the rest could never sway them from accepting, though they easily deluded them in the prosecution of it. This loss made the most sensible impression upon the mind of the king of any that ever befell him.

- 2 There was at the same time another accident which fell out, that hastened the war sooner than was intended, and made it to be entered upon before there was any means ready to prosecute it. It is mentioned before, that after the accusing the six members of parliament, the lord Digby had transported himself into the parts beyond the seas, and was accused of high treason. He was of too active a spirit to be long quiet in any condition; and so, being in Holland when the king came to York, without advising with any of his friends, or knowing the king's pleasure in the point, he returned into England, and came thither. He

passed as a Frenchman, and came first to the lodging of his friend Mr. Hyde, so perfectly disguised, that he did not only not discover him, but could hardly be persuaded that it was, [sic] even when he pulled off his periwig; and he walked after him as his servant for some days in the town and in the court, and with his father the earl of Bristol, who told Mr. Hyde, as he was walking with him, that he had gotten a proper Frenchman to wait upon him, and asked him what service he put him to, and received, without farther curiosity, that answer that occurred. And in this concealment he had some audiences with the king, who retained much kindness for him, though he was sensible of the ill effects of his undeliberated counsels. If he could have concealed himself, he might have been long enough [unknown] to all others; but he communicated himself to so many, that all men knew of his being there, and that his being so would quickly bring reproach and clamour upon the king; for yet there was no mention of a war, but all imaginations cherished of an accommodation with the parliament; against which there could be no greater prejudice, in the opinion of all men, than the lord Digby's presence about the king; so that not only such who had no reverence for him, but his best friends, and even the king himself, wished his absence, and believed his appearance there would be very unseasonable. He was the last man that ever apprehended any disesteem of himself, and did believe that all the world retained a value for him, which he believed he deserved, and so was willing to accept any varnish or colour that might cover the disesteem. Sir John Colepepper, who could dress any design in the most plausible appearances, complained to him with great openness and freedom, as a man with whom he had a perfect friendship, of the queen's remissness in Holland, in making provisions for the war, which she knew was inevitable: that if there were not some supply speedily sent, of arms and ammunition, the king would be compelled to give himself into the hands of the parliament, for all men would forsake him. He well knew the queen's affection and zeal, but imputed this omission and delay to those who were about her, as not only not diligent and industrious enough in such transactions, but men of pleasure, and unbent, who rather desired to spend all the money that could be got in less important things than those which concerned the very being of the king. He lamented there being no

one person about her majesty who took this matter to heart, and that would present the importance of it to her with that vivacity that was requisite, and would see that to be executed which the queen gave order for; and after he had desired him to consider of some fit person to be sent over to her majesty to that purpose; and after he had proposed some who he knew would not be thought equal to it by the other, he seemed to think of going over himself in the errand; to the well despatching of which, he said, the king would own all the good success he was capable of receiving. And by these degrees he raised some present inclination in the lord (who desired to perform any great service which others were not fit for) to make it his own work. Which he no sooner mentioned, but the other laid hold of, and told him he was born to restore the king, extolled the infinite merit of the service, and parted not with him till he had found a means of going together privately to his majesty, to whom he magnified the affection of the lord Digby in being willing to expose himself to so much trouble and danger to recover life again to his even expiring affairs. And the king appearing sensible of the benefit he should receive by it, the journey was so fully resolved upon, that there was afterwards no retiring from it. The next day, when he had with himself quietly deliberated the affair, and the engagement he was in, he discerned that his being so generally known to have been in York, his so sudden retirement from thence would appear to all men to be an absolute banishment from the court, which not being pressed by any other authority with which it would be fit for the king to comply, it must be interpreted to proceed from an utter aversion in the king himself, which (though not true) would blast his reputation in the world; and therefore, though he could not decline the voyage, he would find some expedient to give another kind of lustre to it. There were at the same time in the town Wilmot and Ashburnham and Pollard, all who were as obnoxious to the parliament, and stood charged by it under an accusation of high treason; and so their appearance in the court was as unseasonable as his, and would be liable to the same exception and reproach. They were all designed good commands in the army, Wilmot having been before commissary general of the horse, and the king had designed him again the same charge, and to the other, several commands among the horse and foot,

O'Neile and Berkley being of the same company. If all these men together became absent from the court, it would be looked upon as some trust of importance, and upon a reason not to be inquired into, since they could not be spared when the time should be ripe for action. How he might engage these to accompany him in his employment was his great work. He was well acquainted with them all, and had an absolute disposal of O'Neile, who had by a marvellous dexterity in his nature an extraordinary influence upon the rest. Him he directed to persuade the others to accompany him in his voyage to Holland for their own convenience and benefit. He related the occasion of his journey to the queen, and raised the employment to a matter of as great moment as was possible, and as if the disposal of all offices and places depended upon the resolutions he should bring back with him, himself being to return with the first expedition, and with supplies of arms and money. He observed to him, that there was nobody about the king, or of near credit with him, upon whom they might entirely depend to promote their interest; that it would be good for them to fetch some fire from the queen to warm the king's affections towards them; which being done, they would be sure to be put into the present possession of all those honours and preferments which their hearts were set upon, and of which they pretended to have some kind of promise; and he undertook that the king would be very well pleased with their going this voyage. O'Neile was easily prevailed with, and he as easily prevailed with the rest, who were weary of having nothing to do, and promised themselves the accomplishments of all their wishes by the lord Digby's credit with the king and queen, and made no doubt of their returning with the first arms and ammunition, before the arrival whereof there was nothing for them to do at York. And so upon very short warning they all resolved the journey; and the next day, after he had undertaken the service to the king, he and all that company left York, and to the sea-side, whither they had sent to provide a little bark for their transportation. When they had scarce been a day at sea, they met with the Providence, freighted with that supply of arms and ammunition as is mentioned before; and in that vessel Slingsby was embarked, a creature of the lord Digby's, and recommended by him to the queen, to attend and prosecute the sending that supply; an active and a diligent gentleman, who

went heartily about his business, having a perfect detestation of the parliament for having deprived him of his master the earl of Strafford, whose secretary he was, and most entirely trusted by him. The vessels quickly came to understand what each other was, and the ship slackened her sails, to send their boat to the other, from whom they might receive instructions; and Slingsby came to confer with the lord Digby, and to deliver letters to him from the queen. All the persons in the little bark took the opportunity of the boat's return, and embarked themselves on the ship, the lord Digby only remaining in the bark, to peruse the letters he had received, before the doing whereof he could not positively resolve whether he would continue his voyage for Holland or return; and he kept colonel Ashburnham with him, the boat being appointed to return to them, that they might give each other advertisements what either were to do; and this continued so long, with sending often letters between the lord Digby and Slingsby, that they discovered the fleet to be in pursuit of them. There was then no time for irresolution. The Providence made all their sails into the river of Humber, and, as was said before, got into that shallow creek which preserved them. The bark made all the way they could to overtake the ship; but being no good sailer, before it could reach that creek, the long boats from the ships surprised it, and carried the vessel into Hull. The two prisoners, in this desperate confusion, had only time to dispose of those papers which might make their destruction more certain, and to agree upon such particulars as might be least prejudicial to themselves; the principal of which was, that they were strangers to each other, only met for their passage; the lord Digby being, both in his disguise and language, a natural Frenchman, and the other confessing he was English. It was towards the evening when they were brought to Hull, the lord Digby keeping under deck, as being wonderful sick, and desiring to rest there, till some person might be sent to him who understood his language; which request he made by the interpretation of Mr. Ashburnham, who being of a very jolly humour, and the most dexterous in making himself acceptable to such kind of people, easily prevailed to be carried to a lodging, till he might attend the governor the next day, and seeming to take no other care of his new acquaintance the Frenchman but that somebody might be sent to him who understood French; which

was presently done, there being an inferior officer of the garrison moderately versed in that language. The lord Digby desired him to go to the governor, and desire him that he would presently admit him to his presence ; for that he had somewhat to impart to him that very much concerned the service of the parliament. Sir John Hotham knew enough of the intelligence the parliament held with France to believe that he might from thence receive information of importance, so that he immediately sent for the Frenchman to be brought to him, himself enough understanding it, and his son being present with him, who had travelled later into France than he had done. The lord Digby was not more odious to many men than he was to Hotham, who perfectly abhorred him, for having deserted the party on the behalf of the earl of Strafford ; yet he foresaw that it was not possible for him to be long unknown. The company he was in, which went on board the Providence, would be known from the discourses of themselves, who had seen him and Ashburnham taken prisoners, and would be lamenting their misfortunes ; and if he should not be discovered, his having been with them would at best cause him to be sent to London, whence he could never escape. Upon all which, as he was a man of wonderful sagacity and presentness of mind to get out of a danger which he was not wary to prevent, he resolved upon a new way of concealing himself. Being brought into a gallery, where the governor, environed by his officers, expected him, after he had entertained the company with the actions of the last campaign in France and Flanders, of which he could discourse very naturally, knowing the places and the principal officers of both sides, and declared that the fame of a war in England like to be had disposed him to come thither to offer his service, where he thought there might be want of officers who had been acquainted with the profession ; that he had been at York, to apply himself to the king, but he found there was neither money or preparations there to carry on any war, though they were far from desiring peace ; and therefore he had endeavoured to transport himself back again, and from thence to pass to London, and to be disposed of by the parliament ; and then desired the governor that he might confer with him alone. The other walked with him to the other end of the gallery, which was a little darker, and then he asked him in English whether he knew him. He answered in

some disorder that he did not. He said, he thought so, and that he believed, being a stranger, he might easily obtain his liberty the next day, but that he resolved to owe his life to his generosity rather than to his own good fortune; that he had always looked upon [him] as a man of honour, though they had sometimes differed in their opinions, and that he could not but know, that, whatever errors he might have committed, he was prosecuted with more animosity than was just, and that he was assured he would never deliver him up a sacrifice to those enemies who would destroy him; and so told him his name, and that the other who was taken with him was colonel Ashburnham, a person well known, and not unacceptable to the governor. Sir John Hotham was so surprised with this discourse, that he looked pale, and trembled, and very hardly recovered so much composure as to tell him, that if they stayed long in conference it would raise some jealousy amongst the officers, and therefore that he would send him to a convenient lodging, and find some opportunity the next day to confer farther with him: and so, without saying or hearing more, he called to an officer, and bade him carry that Frenchman to such a house, where the master understood and spake French; and to take care that he wanted nothing; and so dismissing him, he told the officers that were present, that the Frenchman had imparted many things to him of importance, and that he had made many notable observations during the time [he] had been at York, and had given him more useful advertisements than all the persons employed by the parliament had done; and that if he liked him as well the next morning as he did then, he would persuade him to go again to the court, and after his return would send him to the parliament, who he knew would be very glad of such an instrument.

It was a wonderful influence &c. *as in book V. par. 434, l. 1.*

2 L.

V. 433, *last line*, and so departed to his chamber.] *The MS. of the History continues thus:*

- 1 Two days after, he found opportunity to visit him as a stranger and a prisoner; and having the room to themselves, he lamented his own condition; that there was such jealousy of him, that no delinquent was more narrowly watched; that his own son had contracted that animosity against the king, that no man

was more violent, and therefore he was more trusted by the parliament than himself; and therefore that his lordship was to dispense with those wants of civility and respect which he was not in a capacity to perform. But he told him, that he too well understood the great and implacable malice those men bore to his lordship, by whom the counsels and conclusions at Westminster were absolutely swayed, and that he was assured, if he should have the misfortune to fall into their hands, they would take his life from him without any forms or rules of a just trial, which for his part he thought to be against all conscience and justice; and therefore that he was resolved, though the discovery thereof would be his own ruin, not to have any hand in delivering him up into those bloody hands, but wished him to think of making an escape, which in few days, by the negligence of his guard, he would give him an opportunity for; and in the mean time he would make him such short visits as he securely might, without giving the sharpsighted observers of his actions any advantage to both their prejudice; and so departed. The lord Digby finding this generosity from a constitution so unlike to have harboured it, thought least of his own escape, but how he might gratify sir John Hotham again by being a means to reduce him to his loyalty, and to incline him to repair the mischief he had done; and so, as often as he came to him after, he took occasion to present to him the miserable condition the kingdom was like suddenly to fall into, by the passion and sinister designs of those at Westminster, with whom, he said, he wondered how he could comply, who had neither the same opinions or the same ends with the other; as in truth at that time sir John Hotham was as well affected to the government of the Church of England, and desired as little alteration in the laws of the land, as any man that had concurred with them, having at first complied with them out of personal animosity and spleen against the earl of Strafford, and being likewise obnoxious to their inquiry and punishment for many things done by [him] as high sheriff and deputy lieutenant, by those votes which they had passed upon businesses of that nature. Sir John Hotham replied, that his case was very hard; for when he undertook that trust, he did it with no purpose of diserving his majesty, and did believe the intentions of the parliament at that time to have been much better than he had now reason to apprehend; that he had written

his mind so freely to those who governed there to incline them to moderation, that he had rendered himself suspected to them to that degree, that they had put officers and soldiers into the garrison in whom they more confided than in him, and that though he was still suffered to enjoy the title and style of governor, yet his power was very little, and they more trusted who were sent as a committee to overlook and observe his actions, amongst whom his son was the most furious; so that, being resolved not to join with them in any disloyal act against the king, he had reason to believe he should not continue long in any degree of favour with the parliament, and he had already rendered himself so odious to the king that he had put him out of his protection. Then he made large expressions of his fidelity and devotion to the king, and excused his not opening the gates to let his majesty into Hull by a message he had received from one very near his majesty, that he should have his throat cut as soon as the king entered the town. The lord Digby told him, that how unfortunate soever that mistake (of which there was not the least ground, the king having at that time good inclinations to him, and depending much upon him) was to his majesty and himself, yet the merit of doing so important a service to his majesty as the rendering that place to him would be, would cancel all former disobligations, and engage the king to fix some such signal mark upon him of his extraordinary grace and favour as might be equal to the service itself; that he had it now in his power, not only to gratify his sovereign, and thereby to render himself, his family, and his posterity, gracious and prosperous, but to preserve his country from a civil war, and the desolation which a civil war would bring. For it was evident the unreasonable propositions and demands of the parliament proceeded chiefly from their contempt of the king's weakness and want of power, as having neither port, harbour, or munition at his devotion; whereas if by his means he might be possessed of that town and magazine, it would at the same time give him possession of the entire affections of that rich and populous county of Yorkshire, and indeed of the whole north of England, whereby the parliament (the major part whereof did cordially desire peace, though they were swayed and corrupted by a few) would be induced to come to so reasonable a treaty with the king, who was firmly resolved to condescend to any

thing that would really prove for the happiness of the kingdom, that an undoubted peace and good understanding between his majesty and his people would immediately ensue; of all which he would be looked upon by good men as the chief author and procurer. On the other hand, he must expect great misfortunes from the parliament, whose fears and jealousies would improve the least error he should commit into a notorious crime and delinquency, and if they wanted other matter, this very civility and generosity towards him, and the suffering a person so obnoxious to them, and impeached of high treason by them, to escape their fury and revenge, which could not be long concealed, would be a guilt sufficient to produce his ruin, and therefore he could not otherwise requite that excess of humanity and friendship which he expressed towards him, than by persuading him, if he could not incline himself to a resolution of utterly quitting their service, and so being out of their power, by no means to venture the loss of his own head to save his, but to deliver him up to their utmost rage and malice.

- ² These discourses passing frequently between them, sir John Hotham in the end seemed not so unresolved what to do, as unsatisfied that it was in his power to compass what he was enough resolved to venture. Most of the train-bands, which first constituted the garrison, were discharged, and their places supplied by volunteers, who were sent from Boston, and other factious and schismatical towns of Lincolnshire, or by companies from London, and such officers with them as were more heartily engaged in the service, and further trusted than the governor. In all matters of deliberation the committee had equal power with him, and that consisted of men incapable of receiving any good impressions of affection and duty towards the king; and these employed themselves chiefly in observing and watching the affections of other men; and if they discovered either townsman or soldier more honestly inclined than would suit with their purposes, he was immediately put out of the town; so that if sir J. Hotham had expressed or given the least hint of wishing the town in the king's hands, his majesty could not have received any fruit of that wish, and himself had been instantly secured from contributing thereunto. In the end, he foresaw the longer he deferred it the less able he should be to act any thing, and therefore he declared himself freely that

he would serve his majesty, and take the first opportunity to publish that he meant so to do. He said, he had not, by not opening the gates to his majesty, committed any hostile act against him; that his trust was, and so the soldiers generally understood theirs to be, to keep the town for the king as well as for the parliament. If therefore the king would draw any force before the town to force it, plant his cannon with which he was now supplied, and make one shot into the town, and then summon him, he should be able, in that hurry and confusion, to make it appear to the soldiers, that they could not defend it for the parliament without doing some hostile act against the king, nor resist his coming into the town without doing what would endanger the person and life of the king; which as for his part he was resolved, so he thought the garrison would not be guilty of; and by this means he doubted not to be able to put the place into the king's hand.

- 3 Hereupon, all things being agreed between them, sir John Hotham told the committee, that the Frenchman was a rare fellow, and was very desirous to serve the parliament, and had offered him to go to York, and to return to him again with a full discovery of the king's intentions, which by reason of the recommendations he had from the queen, and the acquaintance he had with some principal persons who came now over with the ammunition, he doubted not to obtain. He demanded their opinions whether he should trust him, and wished them to consider the conveniencies they were probably to receive, if he proved honest, which, by the secrets he had already imparted to him, he had a strong persuasion he would do, with the damage of his proving otherwise; for what benefit might accrue by his being kept prisoner he could not understand. They were all of the same mind, and concluded he should go; and so the lord Digby was suffered to go out of Hull, being sufficiently instructed by sir John Hotham, to whom he promised solemnly to return, as was most necessary; and especially premonished and engaged that the business should be intrusted to no person living but his majesty, sir John Hotham professing, that if it were communicated to any third person he would hold himself absolved from any engagement; adding, besides the liberty of the lord Digby, as another argument of his real intentions, some particular information of persons about the king, who were

intelligencers for the parliament, and concluding that all his majesty's resolutions and counsels of moment were betrayed, and therefore passionately insisting upon the secrecy prescribed; and gave him a letter of credit to a friend in York, by which means his lordship might give him notice of what resolutions should be taken before his own return. Hereupon the lord Digby in the same disguise came to York, to the great joy of those few friends who knew in what danger he had been; not one of which, or his own father, who was then waiting on his majesty during the time of his stay there, knew by what means he had escaped, or had the least hint of the treaty with sir [John] Hotham; but having found opportunity to acquaint the king with the whole matter, and receiving his gracious promise that it should not be imparted to any other, he returned again as the same Frenchman to Hull, sir John Hotham much vaunting to the committee what an excellent minister he had got for the service of the parliament; and this was the true prevalent reason that carried the king to Beverley; though the other before mentioned, of making Hull the quarrel, and raising an army under that pretence, seemed to all men of that moment, that they inquired no further. But when, after twenty days' stay there, (his majesty giving occasion to have it thought that he suspended all acts of hostility, upon the message brought by the earl of Holland, and in expectation of a reply to his answer,) it appeared plainly that the garrison of Hull was supplied with more soldiers from London, and that the train-bands of the country came not so numerously or cheerfully in, as to justify any approach to the town, or to venture the cannon in such company, his majesty could not find any (though the officers and gentry then about him were enterprising enough) who thought fit that he should shew himself in so ill an equipage before the town, much less plant his cannon, it being evident, by the affronts the garrison hourly did within the king's quarters, that the small body of train-bands were as inconsiderable in courage as number, insomuch that the danger of his majesty's being himself surprised at Beverley seemed much greater (and no question had not been difficult) than the hope of taking Hull by such an army; whereas, if that treaty with sir John Hotham had at the time of the king's first coming to Beverley been imparted to such a number as might have carried on the

attempt, it is very probable the design, so well laid, might have been executed. But as it was, the king finding himself not ready to make the experiment, and that the parliament was so far beforehand with him in preparations for war, he concluded that he must declare all the abettors of those rebellious proceedings rebels and traitors, and that he must enter into an open war with them, some other irruptions in the other parts of the kingdom not suffering his hostility to be contracted only against Hull; of which accidents and occurrences we are now to speak.

We have remembered before, *as in book V. par. 440, l. 1.*

2 M.

V. 439, *last line*, conducted without any conduct.] *This account, together with the character of colonel Goring, is thus continued in the MS. of the Life:*

It is remembered before, (or if it be not, it is too much in the memory of too many to be forgotten,) that colonel Goring, who had been bred in the court, and owed all he had, and all he had to hope, to the immediate bounty of the crown, was governor of Portsmouth, and a principal officer in the army, when that conspiracy (as they called it) was entered into by some of the chief officers, as Wilmot, Ashburnham, and the rest, against the parliament: all which was discovered by Goring, who thereby made himself a favourite to the governing party in both houses, and was so riveted in their good opinion and confidence, that they would give no countenance to any informations they received, from persons in whom they had great confidence, of any thing to his prejudice; but thought the sourness and morosity of their natures disposed them to severity upon the gayety of his humour, and some liberties and excesses he used to indulge to himself; and he no sooner appeared upon any accusation, but he renewed all their assurance of his integrity, for he appeared with a bashfulness so like innocence when in truth it was a formed impudence to deceive, and with a disorder so like reverence when he had the highest contempt of them, and [sic] believed all he said, and dismissed him with all he asked for, and had [so] entire an opinion of his resignation of himself to them, and his resolution of running their fortune, that, in the modelling their army under the earl of Essex, they made him lieutenant-general of their horse, with an esteem in

their hearts of him superior to any person but of the general himself. He was in truth a man very powerful to get esteem, having a person very winning and graceful in all his motions, and by a hurt in his leg, which he had nobly and eminently attained in an assault of a town in Holland, and which produced a lameness not to be concealed, he appeared the more comely and prevailing. He had a civility which shed itself over all his countenance, and gathered all the eyes and applications in view; his courage was notorious and confessed; his wit equal to the best, and in the most universal conceptions; and his language and expression natural, sharp, and flowing, adorned with a wonderful seeming modesty, and with such a constant and perpetual sprightfulness and pleasantness of humour, that no man had reason to be ashamed of being disposed to love him, or indeed of being deceived by him. He had such a dexterity in his addresses, and in reconciling the greatest prejudice and aversion, that he prevailed with the queen, within less than forty-eight hours after he was known to have betrayed her, and ruined those who were most trusted by her, and who were fled the kingdom for the safety of their lives, to repose a great trust in him again, and to believe that he would serve the king with great integrity. He promised them to keep Portsmouth in the king's devotion; and that he might the better do it, by changing or reforming the garrison and repairing the works, he received a good sum of money from the queen. After the accusation of the six members of parliament, which raised them so high, and cast the king so low, he came to the house, to wipe off some aspersions which had been charged upon him; and to make his dependence to appear to be absolutely and solely upon their favour, he declared how odious he had made himself to the court, which, he said, sought nothing but his ruin, and, he knew, had a design to corrupt his garrison, and to get the town out of his hands; which that he might the better prevent, he desired he might inform them of the weakness of it; and in a very short time prevailed with them to deliver him four thousand pounds, that he might be sure to retain that place in their obedience: and before he returned thither, (from whence he was not absent above a week,) he persuaded the queen, in her greatest extremity and want of money, to furnish him with five thousand pounds, that he might prepare a good proportion of

ammunition and victual, and have men listed in private, and ready to come into the town, when he should find it time to declare: and with these two supplies, so artificially drawn from very contrary affections, and to very contrary ends, and which were abundantly enough to have put the place into a very good condition, he returned well pleased to his garrison.

2 N.

V. 440, *last line*, had reason to expect.] *The MS. of the History proceeds thus:*

- 1 For the business of Hull ripening the inclinations of both parties, and the parliament having chosen their general, and making haste to form their army, colonel Goring was again thought of, and declared to be lieutenant-general of their horse, who by his letters still desired his correspondents (who were the lord Mandeville and others of that tribe) to spare his personal attendance as long as possibly might be, for that his presence with his garrison was very necessary for some longer time. But the jealousies were again grown towards him, not only from his free discourses, which were imputed to the licence of his nature, but from his entertaining many persons of honour and quality in the garrison of known disaffection to the parliament, and his raising of horse; besides that some who were really trusted by him with his intentions, gave intimation of his whole design; so that his friends at London, who began now to think themselves deceived, after two or three letters of excuse for his not coming when he was sent for, plainly sent him word, expressing still their own great confidence of his honour and integrity, (for I have seen the very letters sent to him by the lord Mandeville,) that except he came to London by such a day the parliament would look upon him as revolted from them. Upon the receipt of which letter he could no longer dissemble his resolutions; and therefore calling his garrison together, he told them that what money they had lately received the king had sent to them, and if they would serve him they should have all their arrears and increase of pay; that the differences between the king and the parliament were now grown to that height, that men could no longer keep themselves from discovering which party he would serve; that he was trusted by his commission to keep that town for the king, which he would

perform with his life ; as many as were of that mind should be provided for by him, the rest (if there were any who would not serve the king) should be dismissed. Most of the soldiers, seeing yet no appearance of danger, promised fairly ; yet some professing they would not bear arms against the parliament, were immediately discharged, and put out of the town. Then he assembled the mayor and townsmen, and made the same declaration to them ; and they who expressed so much affection to the parliament, that he thought were not to be trusted, were likewise presently put out of the town. And then he returned answer to his friends at London, that he had, upon confidence of the upright intentions of the parliament, served them to a greater degree, and with more inconvenience and damage to himself than most other men, but that he could [not] join in any act of hostility against the king, to which he was now invited ; that he was intrusted by his majesty, by letters patents under the great seal of England, to keep that town for the king ; and therefore in a time of so much danger, in which the safety of it might be in hazard, he conceived it would not stand with his duty to be absent from that his charge. Hereupon he was immediately voted guilty of high treason, and a part of their new army sent under the command of sir William Waller, with all the train-bands of Hampshire, to besiege and reduce Portsmouth, the earl of Warwick having speedy direction to send so many ships as should be sufficient to keep any relief from being sent thither by sea. And, which is a circumstance not to be forgotten, the earl of Portland being governor of the Isle of Wight, and then sitting with them in the house of peers, was committed prisoner to one of the sheriffs of London, for no other reason but that he was an acquaintance of colonel Goring's, and that government (of which he was possessed by letters patents under the great seal of England for his life) conferred on the earl of Pembroke, in whom they could better confide ; so untender were they (notwithstanding all their discourse of law and privilege) of the interest and privilege of those members who concurred not with them in their furious opinions.

- 2 At the same time the marquis of Hertford, being in Somersetshire, inhibited the execution of the ordinance of the militia ; and when they would, by the persuasion and encouragement of

those who were by that authority named deputy lieutenants, (who were for the most part clothiers, and men who, though they were rich, had not been before of power or reputation there,) summon and awe the county upon that pretence, his lordship, being assisted by his brother Seymour, the lord Pawlet, sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Stawel, and all the principal gentlemen of that county, declared his resolution to suppress them by force, according to the authority the king had granted to him; and in the mean time with such horse as so many persons of honour, quality, and interest there had quickly gotten together, he dispersed great multitudes of them who were assembled near Wells. And thereupon his lordship, and three or four of the principal gentlemen with him, were solemnly impeached of high treason by the house of commons; and the earl of Bedford, their general of the horse, was sent down into the west, assisted with Mr. Hollis; and with a formed army of horse, foot, and cannon, which was sure to be strongly reinforced by the disaffected of Somerset, to apprehend the marquis and the other grand delinquents, and to reduce those parts entirely to the devotion of the parliament. And that his majesty might have nearer evidence of the state of the kingdom, and what he was to expect, the earl of Northampton and other persons of honour, executing the commission of array in Warwickshire where the lord Brooke governed, and to his power advanced the militia, having put a strong garrison into his own castle at Warwick: but the ordnance, which were coming from London for the better fortification of that castle, were intercepted by the earl at Banbury, and by a handful of men, and those on horseback too, were taken out of the castle of Banbury; John Fiennes, a younger son of the lord Say, who had the custody of them in that strong place, being persuaded, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, to deliver those unnecessary preparations for war; the which the earl was no sooner possessed of, than he said he would conduct them to the place for which they were intended; and so carried them to Warwick, and planted them against the castle: for which his lordship was likewise as volubly accused of high treason as the marquis of Hertford had been. So that the king seeing the kingdom on fire in so many places, and so many of his faithful servants ready to be swallowed up by those whom he had not

yet proclaimed to be rebels, he found it high time to remove from Beverley, and to profess a greater work than the reducing of Hull; for which he was yet so unready. And so he drew off his cannon, and the small force he had, (which were very few,) to York, to consider what was next to be done; being willing that the people of Yorkshire should believe that such alteration of counsel was not without a special care of them, lest, by his stay there, he might have made their country the seat of the war, which he was resolved to carry farther from them. And within very few days after the king's return to York, sir John Hotham suffered the lord Digby, (still in disguise,) and after him colonel Ashburnham, to make their escapes; which were good instances that he would have done more if the former design had been prosecuted. But after that, he pursued the interest of his new masters without any visible marks of other inclinations, till it was too late; of which in its place.

- 3 As soon as the king came to York, being assured from London that the earl of Essex's army grew apace, and that whole regiments, raised and designed (or pretended to be so) for Ireland, were by the authority of the houses drawn under his command, so that he was like to be ready within twenty days to march with an army, which they were confident would fetch up the king to London, and that they who had declared themselves for him in the west were like to be oppressed, by reason the people were persuaded that the king really approved what the parliament did, he resolved to lose no more time, but prepared to form an army; for the doing whereof he constituted a council of war, to sit every day. He had before declared the earl of Lindsey his lieutenant general of the army; and now he made sir Jacob Ashley sergeant major general; the lord viscount Grandison and the earl of Carnarvon had commissions to raise regiments of horse, which were in a good forwardness; and now he made Mr. Wilmot commissary general of the horse; reserving the place of general of the horse for his nephew prince Rupert, whom he every day expected. Then he published a proclamation, by which he declared the earl of Essex and all those who adhered to him to be traitors and rebels; published the commission granted by him to the marquis of Hertford, and required all his good subjects of those parts to assist his lordship and colonel Goring in the defence of Portsmouth, against all the

rebels which should oppose either; and within two days after declared by another proclamation, bearing date the 12th day of August, that he would erect his royal standard at Nottingham on the 22nd of the same month: and therefore required all well affected persons on the north side of Trent to repair thither, and to attend his person there on that day; from whence he resolved to advance forward for the suppression of the said rebellion, and the protection of his subjects from that slavery and insolence which threatened them. Between these two proclamations which are mentioned, there was another, of a seeming contradictory nature, of the tenth of that month, inhibiting all popish recusants, or any other who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to resort to his army, disclaiming the service of all such; which appeared very strange to many, that, being ready to be swallowed up by so strong and powerful a rebellion, he should refuse the aid and assistance of any of his subjects who had the loyalty and courage to come to him, and of those who, being proscribed, and threatened to be extirpated by the rebels, and who already felt much of their tyranny, (the papists' houses in all places being plundered or pulled down, with all circumstances of rage, by the parliament soldiers,) were most like to oppose them with equal animosity. For though there might be a narrow room left to some to doubt, whether their designs against the king, the church, and the law, were as bad as they seemed to be, there was no question but their resolutions were at least as severe against the papists as they pretended: and I very well know that those of that religion have excused their want of zeal and alacrity to the king's service throughout this rebellion, upon the king's disclaimer of their aid in that proclamation: but very unreasonably. All these objections and considerations were very obvious to the king at the time when that proclamation issued, when the crown seemed to depend upon a force presently got together of what men soever; but it was very plain, that the imputation raised by the parliament upon the king, of an intention to bring in, or, which they thought all one, of conniving at and tolerating popery, did make a deep impression upon the people generally, and upon those whose affections were very entire (if their judgments had been equal) to the preservation of the peace and constitution of the kingdom. The known great interest of the queen, and of those

who were most powerful with her majesty; the public favours and connivance to the papists in general in the late years, and the boldness and insolence of those of that profession much more than heretofore; the entertaining a public and avowed minister here from the pope, and the having another resident for her majesty at Rome, inclined very moderate men to believe all the ill that could be spoken of the papists; and their strength and number was then thought so vast within the kingdom, (which without doubt was a great error,) that if they should be drawn together and armed, under what pretence soever, they might not be willing to submit to the power which raised them, but be able to give the law both to king and parliament; which, I say, was a very unskilful computation: however, it did prevail. On the other side, it was as confidently and as unreasonably believed, that if that foul scandal were removed, of his majesty's receiving and entertaining papists, (which it was thought that proclamation would do,) the parliament would not be able to raise an army, at least not to make it march against the king. So that in this conjuncture of time, his majesty had reason to believe, that the inhibiting that resort would for every fifty papists it kept from his majesty's army, supply him with one hundred protestants, whereas the contrary would have made an equal addition to the enemy: which was so like reason, (though not it,) that it was one of those impositions which the spirit and temper of that time necessitated his majesty to submit to. Yet even at that time he took care that the principal persons of that profession, and they who were supposed to have an influence upon the rest, should know, that that act proceeded not from any signal displeasure against them, but out of conformity to that jealousy which themselves could not but observe his majesty was even obliged to comply with; and that it was indeed an act of great kindness and indulgence to them, that in the entrance into a war his majesty would not draw that party into so much envy (with the weight whereof they were already enough oppressed) as to have them taken notice of as a part of his strength. If a war should be prevented by a treaty and accommodation, they would find the benefit of such a reservation; if otherwise, and both parties were engaged in blood, he would expect they should with their utmost strength and united powers come to his assistance, according to the duty of subjects. In the mean time they

might better serve him by their purse than their presence, which in truth (notwithstanding the formality of that proclamation) was no otherwise discountenanced, than by not granting commissions for eminent command to men of that religion. Such as without noise were willing to list themselves as volunteers in the service were willingly received; and some such there were; though generally (as was said before) they took that pretence to sit unconcerned in the present distractions; such of them as had the skill to shelter themselves in London, living with all the quiet and security that could be desired, very many governing and the most active men amongst the rebels giving them assurance or intimation, that, their main contention being for liberty of conscience, they should never deny that to others which they insisted on so much for themselves: and it is certain there was very little prosecution of the catholics in London or any where else, otherwise than of those who were taken notice of to be inclined to the king's service.

- 4 Having thus published his resolutions and counsels, his majesty, for the better information of his people, set forth a very long declaration to all his subjects, wherein he remembered them of all the acts of justice and grace he had consented to on their behalf this parliament, by which they were in so happy a condition and security, that it would be their own faults if they were ever miserable. He told them many particulars of the miscarriage of those factious persons who then governed in the two houses of parliament, and to whose ill and ambitious ends the power and authority of those two houses was applied: how unreasonably they had imposed upon them, and traduced his majesty by their discourse of bringing up the army to London, and of other plots, of which there was no grounds; of their preaching and printing seditious sermons and pamphlets; and named some parishes, to which some of them had commended lecturers who were mechanic men, and not in orders. He told them the reasons upon which he had been induced to accuse the lord Kimbolton and the five members of the house of commons of high treason, and remembered them of the unheard of proceedings thereupon, and of their driving his majesty by force from London; of all the other indignities and acts of violence he had suffered from them, and the pressures which the whole kingdom endured; and told them, they might see by what rules they

should live, and what right they were to enjoy, when those men had gotten the sway, who in the infancy of their power, and when there was yet left some memory of and reverence to the laws under which their fathers lived so happily, durst leap over all those known and confessed principles of government and obedience, and exercise a tyranny both over prince and people more insupportable than confusion itself. He said, all men had heard those men say, that the alteration they intended, and which was necessary both in church and state, must be made by blood. Their principles by which they lived were destructive to all laws and compacts. Every thing was necessary which they thought so, and every thing lawful that was in order to that necessity. His majesty asked, what one thing he had denied that with reference to the public peace and happiness was to be bought with the loss of the meanest subject? And yet into what a sea of blood was the rage and fury of those men launching out, to wrest that from his majesty which (he said) he was bound (if he had one thousand lives to lose in the contention) to defend? Nay, what one thing was there that makes life precious to good men which he did not defend, and these men oppose, and would evidently destroy? What grievance or pressure had the people complained of, and been eased by his majesty, which was not now brought upon them in an unlimited degree? Was the true reformed protestant religion, sealed by the blood of so many reverend martyrs, and established by the wisdom and piety of former blessed parliaments, dear to them? His majesty appealed to all the world, (being called upon by the reproaches of those men,) whether his own practice, (the best evidence of religion,) and all the assistance and offers he could give, had been wanting to the advancement of that religion? On the other side, all his good subjects might consider and weigh, what pregnant arguments they had to fear innovation in religion, if those desperate persons should prevail, when the principal men, to whose care and industry they had committed the managery of that part, refused communion with the church of England, as much as the papists do; when such licence was given to Brownists, anabaptists, sectaries, and whilst coachmen, felt-makers, and such mechanic persons, were allowed and entertained to preach, by those who thought themselves the principal members of either house. When such barbarous outrages in churches, and hea-

thenish irreverence and uproars even in the time of divine service and the administration of the blessed sacrament, were practised without control ; when the blessed means of advancing religion, the preaching of the word of God, was turned into a licence of libelling and reviling both church and state, and venting such seditious positions as by the law of the land were no less than treason, and scarce a man in reputation and credit with those grand reformers who was not notoriously guilty of this ; whilst those learned, reverend, painful, and pious preachers, who had been and still were the most eminent and able assertors of the protestant religion, were (to the unspeakable joy of the adversaries of our religion) disregarded and oppressed. Would men enjoy the laws they were born to ? the liberty and property, which makes the subjection of this nation famous and honourable with all neighbouring kingdoms ? His majesty said, he had done his part to make a wall of brass for the perpetual defence of them, whilst those ill men usurped a power to undermine that wall, and to shake those foundations which could not be pulled down, but to the confusion of the law, liberty, property, and the very life and being of his subjects ? Had the people suffered under and been oppressed by the exercise of an arbitrary power, and out of a sense of those sufferings his majesty had consented to take away the star-chamber and high-commission courts, to regulate the council table, and to apply any remedies that had been proposed to him for that disease ; and had not those men doubled those pressures in the latitude and unlimitedness of their proceeding, in their orders for the observation of the law, as they pretend, and their punishing men for not obeying those orders in a way and degree the law doth not prescribe ; in the sending for the subject upon general informations without proof, and for offences which the law takes no notice of ; in declaring men enemies to the commonwealth, fining and imprisoning them for doing or not doing that which no known law enjoined or condemned ? Were the pursicants [pursevants] of the council table, the delay and attendance there, or at the high commission court, the judgments and decrees of the star-chamber, more grievous, grievous to more persons, more chargeable, more intolerable, than the sergeants' and officers' fees, the attendance upon the houses or upon committees, or than the votes and judgments which had lately passed in one or both houses ? Though the sentences in

the other courts had possibly been in some cases too severe, and exceeded the measure of the offence, there had been still an offence, somewhat done that in truth was a crime; but now, declarations, votes, and judgments passed upon the people for matters not suspected to be crimes till they were punished. Was the dignity, privilege, and freedom of parliaments (parliaments, whose wisdom and gravity had prepared so many wholesome laws, and whose freedom distinguishes the condition of his majesty's subjects from those of any monarchy in Europe) precious to the people? Where was that freedom and that privilege, when the house of commons presumed to make laws without the house of peers, as they had done in their vote upon the protestation; and of the ninth of September, when the house of commons and the house of peers presumed to make laws without his majesty's consent? as they had done in the business of the militia, of Hull, and other particulars. Where was that freedom and privilege, when alderman Pennington and captain Venn brought down their myrmidons to assault and terrify the members of both houses, whose faces or whose opinions they liked not, and by that army to awe the parliament, when Mr. Hollis required the names of those lords who would not agree with the house of commons? Where was that freedom and privilege of parliament, when members of the one house had been questioned for words spoken in that house, and one freed, the other but reprehended by vote of the major part, were again questioned by the other house, and a charge brought against them for those words? Was honour, reputation, freedom, and civility to be esteemed? What causeless defamations had been raised and entertained upon persons of quality and unblemished estimation, upon grounds or appearance of reason, but because their opinions ran not with the torrent? What caresses had been and were still made to persons loose, vicious, and debauched, of no virtue, no religion, no reputation, but of malice and ingratitude to his majesty? He said, their names would be easily found out, by all men's observation and their own blushes, though they should not have the honour of his mention. How had the laws of hospitality and civility been violated, the freedom and liberty of conversation (the pleasure and delight of life) been invaded by them? The discourses at tables, whispers in gardens and walks examined, and of persons under no accusation, letters broken up, (his ma-

jesty's own to his dearest consort the queen not spared,) read publicly, and commented upon, with such circumstances as made Christendom laugh at our follies and abhor our correspondence. Was the constitution of the kingdom to be preserved, and monarchy itself upheld? Nothing could be more evident, than that the end of those men was, or the conclusion that must attend their premises must be, to introduce a parity and confusion of all degrees and conditions; several books and papers had been published by their direction, at least under their countenance, against monarchy itself. He asked, whether it were possible for him to be made vile and contemptible, and his subjects to continue as they were, or that his just power could be taken from him, and they enjoy their liberties? He said, whosoever was a friend to the constitution of the kingdom must be an enemy to these men. After enforcing many considerations of this nature, and mentioning many extravagant acts done by them, he said, he had often expressed what his opinion and resolution was concerning parliaments. He had said, and he would still say, that they were so essential a part of the constitution of the kingdom, that he could attain to no happiness without them, nor would he ever make the least attempt in his thought against them. He well knew that himself and the two houses make up the parliament, and that they were like Hippocrates' twins; they must laugh and cry, live and die together; that no man could be a friend to the one and an enemy to the other. The injustice, injury, and violence offered to parliaments, was that which he principally complained of: and his majesty again assured all his good subjects, in the presence of Almighty God, that all the acts passed by him this parliament should be equally observed by him, as he desired those to be which most concerned his rights. He said his quarrel was not against the parliament, but against particuar men, who first made the wounds, and would not now suffer them to be healed, but made them deeper and wider, by contriving, fostering, and fomenting mistakes and jealousies betwixt body and head, his majesty and his two houses of parliament; which persons he would name, and was ready to prove them guilty of high treason. He desired that the lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, sir Arthur Hasle-
rig, Mr. Stroud, Mr. Martin, sir Henry Ludlow, alderman Pennington, and captain Venn, might be delivered into the hands

of justice, to be tried by their peers, according to the known laws of the land. If he did not prove them guilty of high treason, they would be acquitted, and his innocence justly triumph over them. Against the earl of Warwick, earl of Essex, earl of Stamford, lord Brooke, sir John Hotham, sergeant major general Skippon, and those who should from that time exercise the militia by virtue of the ordinance, he said, he would cause indictments to be drawn of high treason, upon the statute of the 25th year of Edward the Third. If they submitted to their trial appointed by the law, and upon pleading their ordinances should be acquitted, his majesty had done. And that all men might know, that in truth nothing but the preservation of the true protestant religion invaded by Brownism, anabaptism, and libertinism, the safety of his person threatened and conspired against by rebellion and treason, the law of the land and liberty of the subject oppressed and almost destroyed by an unlimited arbitrary power, and the freedom, privilege, and dignity of parliament awed and insulted upon by force and tumults, could make his majesty put off his long loved robe of peace, and take up defensive arms. His majesty once more offered a free and gracious pardon to all his loving subjects who should desire the same, (except the persons before named,) and should be as glad with safety and honour to lay down those arms, as of the greatest blessing he was capable of in this world. But if, to justify those actions and those persons, any of his subjects should think fit to engage themselves in a war against him, he said, he must not look upon it as an act of his parliament, but as a rebellion against his majesty and the law, in the behalf of those men, and would proceed for the suppressing it with the same conscience and courage, as he would meet an army of rebels, who endeavoured to destroy both king and people; and he would not doubt to find honest men enough of his mind.

- 5 All thoughts were now applied to action, and the king himself resolved speedily to move southward. Calling therefore the persons of honour and quality of Yorkshire before him, he acquainted them with his purpose, and wished them to consider what was most in order to their own safety, and for the preservation of their county from the incursions of Hull; for the better doing whereof, he would leave the earl of Cumberland, the most popular and loved man of that country, to be his lieu-

tenant, and would readily gratify them in consenting to any other propositions they should make on their own behalfs; desiring only from them such a supply of arms as they could conveniently spare from their private armouries, for the public had no magazine, and that they would furnish some horse for the completing the prince's regiment. Some arms they did gather together, (not above four or five hundred;) for they durst not, for the unpopularity of it, think of disarming the train-bands, though they knew they would at best be useless to the defence of the county, if not employed against it, and would have been a full supply to his majesty, and furnished two or three troops of good horse for the prince's regiment, the titular command whereof was under the earl of Cumberland, but governed and conducted by sir Thomas Byron, a very valiant and experienced officer, and desired nothing else from his majesty, but that he would leave sir Thomas Glemham with them, to direct them in any preparations military, and to command under the earl of Cumberland, if they should be attempted by force; presuming they should be able, upon their own interest, and the good affections of the people, to raise strength enough for their defence, if sir John Hotham from Hull should disquiet them. I cannot omit one circumstance at his majesty's leaving York, as an instance how different the passions of those who really and cordially affected his majesty and his cause were from theirs at London who were devising his destruction. There were very few gentlemen, or men of any quality, &c. *as in par.* 446, l. 4.

2 O.

V. 446, *last line*, those rough and violent diseases.] *The MS. of the History proceeds thus:*

The king having left York, and the day not yet come for the setting up his standard, thought not fit to stay at Nottingham, but went farther southward, to countenance the small force the earl of Northampton had drawn together at Warwick; and lodging at Stonely within four miles of Coventry, he thought it convenient to possess himself of that city, which, though encompassed with an old wall, having no garrison in it, he thought no hard matter to do; and therefore sending overnight thither that he would dine there the next day, he went in the morning towards it. But when he came thither, he found the

gates shut against him, and the wall manned with armed men, the council of the city having resolved, upon consideration of the declaration and votes of the parliament, that his entrance should be opposed; and when some of his servants and attendants (for he had only horse with him) rode nearer the gate and walls than they within thought fit, they discharged some iron cannon they had planted, and thereby killed two or three horses, and hurt very dangerously a gentleman or two of note. Whereupon the king, being in no posture to force his way, was compelled, with this new indignity, to retire to his last lodging, and the next day towards Nottingham; the earl of Northampton being at the same time forced to draw off his cannon and small force from Warwick, by reason of a party of three thousand foot, with two or three troops of horse, from the parliament, which were then marching that way, and intended to put themselves into Coventry, being commanded by colonel Ballard, (a soldier of a good reputation and great trust with the earl of Essex,) who was assisted and countenanced with Mr. Hambden, his regiment being near a third part of their number. The king's horse, under the command of commissary general Wilmot, were not then above eight hundred, who were to join with those under the earl of Northampton, upon their retreat, and so to give any annoyance they found reasonable to the enemy, which was thought to be reasonably within their power; for though the number of their foot was not considerable to that of the enemy, yet the horse was more than double, and the enemy's march to be unavoidably over a fair campaign, unguarded with hedges or banks, so that their horse being beaten, the foot would easily have been dispersed. But, whether by mistake of orders and messages, or the piques between the commanders, (for those under the earl of Northampton were commanded by sir Nic. Byron, who, being the elder soldier, thought it not agreeable to receive orders from Mr. Wilmot, who yet took himself to have the undoubted command,) those parties never met; but the earl of Northampton marching another way, Mr. Wilmot thought not fit to engage those horse under his command (being all the force considerable the king had yet raised) against so unequal a party of the enemy, which, without question, was the most prudent and justifiable counsel, (all things considered,) though there wanted not some then,

that imputed it to want of mettle, and looked upon it as the loss of a great advantage ; and it may be, by the want of courage that in the infancy of the war was in most of the parliament forces, if they had been then stoutly charged by those horse, they might have been routed, which, without doubt, would have [sic] exceedingly have [sic] exalted the king's hopes, and cast down and dejected the hearts of the parliament ; the contrary whereof fell out : for those forces marching over the plain within half cannon-shot of our horse, and making some shot at them, went with incredible triumph into Coventry, where they were received with equal acclamation ; and Mr. Wilmot, without any other loss than of capt. Legge, (who was unfortunately taken prisoner by riding amongst their men, after the compassing a hill, taking them for our own,) fairly and soldierly retired to Leicester, whither prince Rupert came the same day, to take his charge as general of the horse, having, together with his brother prince Maurice, and some gentlemen and inferior officers, transported himself in a States' man of war to Newcastle, from whence he made all haste to York ; and finding his majesty departed thence, came to him at Leicester at the same time when the horse had retreated thither ; where the king left him, and came himself to Nottingham, the day he had appointed for the setting up of his standard. And albeit he found the appearance there to be much less than he expected, and many were of opinion that the setting up the standard should be respite for some few days, till his numbers increased, his majesty, wisely considering that it would beget great insolence in the rebels, and publish his weakness to all the people, would not defer it an hour, but, as soon as he came to the town, went himself, attended by all the train he could make, to the top of the castle-hill of Nottingham, (which is a place of a very eminent and pleasant prospect,) and there fixed his royal standard ; when indeed all the foot which he had yet drawn together were not a sufficient guard to have constantly attended the standard.

2 P.

V. 449, 16, till the tempest was allayed.] *The MS. of the Life is thus continued :*

And within three or four days the news arrived that Portsmouth was given up ; which almost struck the king to the

heart. Goring, who had received so much money from the parliament, to mend the fortifications, and so much [from] the queen, to provide men and victual and ammunition, that he might be able to defend himself when he should be forced to declare, which he expected to be much sooner, and could not expect to be suddenly relieved, had neither mended the fortifications or provided any thing for his defence, but had spent all the money in good-fellowship, or lost it at play, the temptation of either of which vices he never could resist. So that when he could no longer defer giving the parliament a direct answer, he had only the lord Wentworth and Mr. Thomas Weston, who came to enjoy the delight of his company, which was very attractive, and for whom he had promised to raise troops of horse, and three or four country gentlemen, who repaired thither upon the first news of his declaring with so small a number of men, as was fitter for their equipage and retinue than for the defence of the place, and an addition of twenty or thirty common men to his garrison, which the kindness of some friends had supplied with: and in this state sir Will. Waller found him and the place, when he came before it, and when he was deprived of all communication by land or sea. He continued in the same jollity from the time he was besieged, and suffered the enemy to approach as he pleased, without disturbing him by any brisk sally or soldierly action, which all men expected from him, who were best acquainted with his other infirmities; and after the end of about three weeks, he delivered the town, upon no other conditions than the liberty for all who had a mind to go away, and his own transportation into Holland. When he recovered, and restored himself to the king and queen's favour and trust, after his foul tergiversation, he had great thoughts in his heat of power and authority; for his ambition was always the first deity he sacrificed to; and it was proposed by him, and consented to, that when the king should find it necessary to put himself into the field, (which was thought would be fit for him to do much sooner,) the queen should retire to Portsmouth: and that was the reason why the queen was so solicitous that it might be put into a good condition; and by this means he should be sure never to be reduced into any straits without a powerful relief, and should always have it in his power to make good conditions for himself

in all events. But when the parliament's power was so much increased, and the king's abated, that the queen resolved to transport herself beyond the seas, the edge of his zeal was taken off, and he thought Portsmouth too low a sphere for him to move in; and the keeping a town (which must follow the fate of the kingdom) was not a fit portion for him; and so he cared not to lose what he did not care to keep. And it were to be wished that there might be no more occasion to mention him after this repeated treachery, and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those whom he had so often deceived, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him more than once before this discourse comes to an end.

2 Q.

VI. 7, *last line*, and his great-spirited little army.] *In the MS. of the History the account is thus continued:*

When this news of Portsmouth and Sherborne came to the king at Nottingham, the next day after the setting up his standard, it will easily be believed that the spirits there were not a little dejected; and indeed they who had least fear could not but reasonably think the king's condition very desperate; so that some of those of nearest trust and confidence about him proposed to him, as the only expedient, to send a gracious message to the two houses, to offer a treaty for peace. His majesty received this advice very unwillingly, concluding that he should thereby improve the pride and insolence of his enemies, who would impute it to the despair of raising any force to resist them, and would demean themselves accordingly, and would to the same degree dishearten and discountenance those who had appeared, and upon the setting up his standard were now ready to appear in any act of loyalty on his behalf, who would be all sacrificed to the revenge and fury of the others. On the other side it was objected, that his majesty was not able to make resistance, *as in par.* 8, *l.* 41.

2 R.

VI. 8, 39, and therefore it ought to be made.] *The MS. of the Life thus continues:*

- 1 And they could not have used a more powerful argument to the king, to get his consent, than that it would not be accepted.

However he was with wonderful difficulty brought to it, by the unanimous importunity of the whole board; where, though there were some who in their judgments did not approve it, there was none durst speak against it; and sir John Colepepper, who had most credit with him, was as earnest to persuade him to it as any man; and the earl of Dorset was persuaded to concur in it, upon an assurance, that he should be one who should be sent with the message: and an opportunity to go to and return from London with safety was attended with many advantages, by their getting supplies of money to defray the great expenses they were at. In the end, being tired with the debate, the council sitting till it was very late, the king consented that there should be a message prepared against the next morning, and that the earls of Southampton and Dorset, with sir John Colepepper and sir William Udall, should carry the message, and deliver it to the houses whereof they were members; the lord Falkland being left at York, to take care for the sending the arms and ammunition from thence, [which] was not yet come to Nottingham; and then the earl of Southampton and sir John Colepepper were sent by the king to Mr. Hyde, to prepare the message against the next morning. The king was so exceedingly afflicted after he had given his consent, that he brake out into tears; and the lord Southampton, who lay in the bedchamber that night, told Mr. Hyde the next morning, that the king had been in so great an agony that whole night, that he believed he had not slept two hours in the whole night, which was a discomposure his constitution was rarely liable to in the greatest misfortunes of his life. The message was made ready in the morning in a softer and calmer style than his majesty had been accustomed to for some months, and the persons began their journey towards London the same day.

- 2 The king continued very thoughtful and sad, and cared not to be entertained with any discourse, which he did not usually avoid, and fixing his eyes upon Mr. Hyde in the gallery, shortly after the lords were departed, he called him, and walked with him to the other end of the room, and observed that he looked sadder than he used to do, and said he had reason, for that he had been drawn to do that which must make all men sad who had any love and kindness for him: and thereupon, with a countenance that had indeed much of sorrow in it, he related all that

had passed in the two days before, and said, if he could have gotten any one of his council to have adhered to him in the refusal, he would never in this condition have been prevailed with to have made an address to those who had used him so reproachfully. He told him, he had once thought to have sent for him, to have advised with him upon the point, and that he might divert Colepepper from pursuing it so warmly, and prevent the earl of Dorset's concurring in the advice, upon whom his majesty thought the other had some influence; but he said he forbore to do so out of kindness to him, and that he might not expose him to the displeasure he might probably have incurred by opposing it. However he resolved he would send no message but what he prepared; and therefore he had sent Southampton to him; and that he confessed he was better pleased with the message itself than the thought of sending to them, and that he had so far preserved his honour (for which he thanked him) that he had used no mean and base expressions of condescension to them; and then enlarged with many passionate protestations, that if they should upon this message enter upon any treaty for an accommodation, he would never consent to any particular that might be to the prejudice of any of his friends who adhered, of which he required him to assure all men with whom he could converse. Mr. Hyde answered, that he had not apprehended any of that trouble in his own countenance which his majesty had taken notice of, yet that he could not say he was without it, for he had that very morning received news of the death of a son of his, which did affect him, though it would not disturb him long; but he assured his majesty that his message or sending to the parliament did not in the least degree disorder him; for though there might have been many objections made against it, and some apprehension, that any condescension at this time might give some stop to his levies, and discourage those who had a purpose to resort to him or to declare for him, and that men might naturally believe, that if a treaty should be consented to by the parliament upon this application from his majesty, it would not be afterwards in his power to deny his concession to whatsoever should be required of him in that treaty; and that the interest of all particular persons must be subjected to that public convenience and peace, for which he protested he was himself very cheerfully prepared, and expected as sour a portion as would be

assigned to any man in England: yet there were on the other side many appearances of benefit that might accrue to his majesty from their carriage and refusal: of which he conceived one might be, that they would be so amused with this message, and an opinion that an entire submission would shortly attend it, that [they] would sit still, [and] perform no act of hostility, till the effect of it was known; which very sitting still would be of much advantage to him; (which his majesty said was a better argument than any that had been used to him :) and therefore, he said, he had nothing to do but to take all opportunities to persuade men, that it was very necessary for his majesty to send that message at that time; and to that purpose he had always the message in his pocket, which he had read to many, who confessed that it was better than they imagined; and that he gave copies of it to all who desired it, and which had already composed the minds of many. He concluded with an earnest desire to his majesty, that he would compose his own countenance, and abolish that infectious sadness in his own looks, which made the greatest impression upon men, and made them think that he found his condition to be more desperate than any body else believed it to be. The king was very well pleased with the discourse, and told him he was a very good comforter; and that if he had as much credit with others as he had with him, as he doubted not he would have, the court would be shortly in a better humour.

- 3 The truth is, the consternation that at that time covered the countenance of most men cannot be imagined. The soldiers looked upon themselves as given up, and the war at an end. They who repaired to the king out of duty and conscience expected to be sacrificed to the pride and fury of the parliament, and the government both of church and state to be upon the point dissolved; and there were many others, who thought the message would do no good, but that the king and they must be destroyed in so unequal a war.

2 S.

VI. 57, l. 5, read in all churches.] *Thus originally in the MS.:*

When Mr. Hyde came from London towards York, to attend the king, he made Oxford his way; and there conferring with

his friend Dr. Sheldon, then warden of All Souls, of the ill condition the king was in, by his extreme want of money, with which there could be no way to supply him, the parliament being possessed of all his revenue, the doctor told him, and wished him to inform the king of it, that all the colleges in Oxford, and he did believe the like of Cambridge, were very plentifully supplied with plate, which would amount to a good value, and lay useless in their treasuries; there being enough besides for their use; and he had not the least doubt but that whensoever his majesty should think fit to require that treasure, it would all be sent to him. He had given the king information of this as soon as he came to York, and when he was at Nottingham, in that melancholic season, he put him in mind again of it, and then two gentlemen were despatched &c. *as in par.* 57, l. 15.

2 T.

VI. 61, *last line*, and to have destroyed all his enemies.] *The MS. proceeds thus:*

The king was weary of Nottingham, where he had received so many mortifications, and was very glad in so short a time to find himself in a posture fit to remove from thence. The general, earl of Lindsey, had brought to him a good regiment of foot out of Lincolnshire, of near one thousand men, very well officered; and the lord Willoughby, his son, who had been a captain in Holland, and to whom his majesty had given the command of his guards, had brought up likewise from Lincolnshire another excellent regiment, near the same number, under officers of good experience. John Bellasis, a younger son of the lord Falconbridge, and sir William Penniman, were come up from Yorkshire to the standard, with each of them a good regiment of foot, of about six hundred men, and each of them a troop of horse. Though his train of artillery was but mean, and his provision of ammunition much meaner, yet it was all he could depend [upon,] and therefore it was to be well spent, and as soon as might be, all the impatience being now to fight. The lord Paget, who left the parliament shortly after the king came to York, to expiate former transgressions, had undertaken to raise a good regiment of foot in Staffordshire, where his best interest was; and some other persons of condition had made the same engagements for Wales. The lord Strange (for his

father the earl of Derby was then living) was thought to have much more power in Cheshire and Lancashire than in truth he had, and some of the best men of those counties had commissions to raise both horse and foot in those counties; so that though the king was not resolved where to make a stand, yet it appeared necessary to make his march towards those parts. For all the reasons mentioned, Shrewsbury was by all men thought to be the best post, because of the communication it had with all the other counties; but they could not be sure of admittance there. Some principal gentlemen of that county, and members of the house of commons, were then there to persuade the country to submit to the ordinance of parliament; yet Mr. Hyde had kept an intelligence with the mayor of the town by a churchman who was a canon of a collegiate church there, and a dexterous and discreet person, who had been at Nottingham with him, and given him a full account of the humour and disposition of that people; and he had by his majesty's order sent him again thither, with such instructions and letters as were necessary for the negociation. The first day's march was from Nottingham to Derby, in the middle way to which the army was drawn up, horse and foot, and was the first time his majesty had a view of them; and that day the lord Paget's regiment of foot increased the number; and the whole made so good an appearance that all men were even wishing for the earl of Essex, and all fears were vanished. From Derby the king marched to Stafford, and gave order that no prejudice should be done to the earl of Essex's house or park at Chartley, which was in view of the way, and would otherwise have been pulled down and destroyed. Here Mr. Hyde received a letter from the canon of Shrewsbury that the committee of parliament had left the town, and he believed there would not be the least pause in receiving the king. However the king would not declare which way he would march till he had more assurance, and so sent Mr. Hyde to Shrewsbury, to give him speedy notice before he declined the way to Chester; and receiving from him the next day an account that the town was well resolved, and that the mayor, though an old humorous fellow, had prepared all things for his reception, the king came with the whole army to Shrewsbury before the end of September; prince Rupert, within few days after, marched on the

Welsh side of Severn to Worcester, to countenance some levies of foot which were there preparing.

Upon the king's coming to Shrewsbury, &c. *as in par.* 64, l. 1.

2 U.

VI. 65, *last line*, seasonable supply for his affairs.] *Here follows, in the MS. of the Life, the subjoined account of the rencounter before Worcester:*

Whilst this was preparing, the king made a journey to Chester, both to secure that place to his service, (which being the key of Ireland, was most necessary to be preserved in obedience to him,) and to countenance the lord Strange, who met with some opposition in those parts to a degree he had not apprehended. When his majesty marched towards Shrewsbury, the earl of Essex, not knowing his purpose, went with his army towards Worcester, that he might keep himself between the king and London; and prince Robert [Rupert] chanced to be at the same time in Worcester, as is mentioned before, when he was informed that some of the parliament forces were even at the gates. Whereupon he drew out those few troops of horse which attended him, that he might take a view of the enemy, and they were no sooner in view than they were engaged mutually in a brisk charge. The earl of Essex had sent Nathaniel Fiennes with a regiment of his best horse to take possession of Worcester, where he intended to be that night with the gross of his army. They were more in number, and much better provided than the prince's troops, but they were, by reason of the hedges, too near each other to part, before either thought to engage, many of the prince's troops being dismounted, as not looking for [an] enemy, when the first troops, where the prince himself was, charged the other so fiercely, that though they who were in the front behaved themselves well, the colonel himself and the greater part of his troops were routed very easily, and pursued as far as was fit. Wilmot, sir Lewis Dives, and some other officers, were hurt, but very few of the king's men killed, and none of name. Of the parliament side near a hundred were killed on the place, Sandys and Wyndham and Walton, and other officers of name, taken prisoners; whereof the first died of his wounds in few days after; and five or six cornets of horse taken. It

was a brisk and a seasonable action, and made the prince's name and his troops terrible, and brake the spirits of the other as much, and did entirely break one of the best regiments of horse in that army. The prince understood by the prisoners how near the earl of Essex was, and therefore having come into the town but that morning, and having nothing but horse there, and two or three companies of foot of new unarmed men, levied in the place, he drew all away from thence towards Bewly; but the earl of Essex meeting the marks and evidence of the defeat of his troops, and not knowing what reception he should find at Worcester, stopped his march, and did not enter that city in three days after this action. The king was at Chester when this fell out, whither the prince gave him notice of it, and sent the colours he had taken by his servant Crane, who was knighted for his news; and the king thought it necessary, in regard of the earl of Essex's being at Worcester, to return to Shrewsbury sooner than he intended, and before he had finished the business he went [upon:] and so the lord Strange suffered an affront at Manchester, and the town then shutting their gates against him, they continued in rebellion during the war: and at the same time the earl of Derby died, and the lord Strange succeeded him in that title.

2 X.

VI. 66, *last line*, were prosecuted with effect.] *The MS. of the Life proceeds thus:*

- 1 As soon as the earl of Essex came to Worcester, he found himself obliged to send to the king. The parliament found very sensibly that they had lost much of the people's veneration by having rejected the king's propositions for peace, and that very many, who had talked loud, and were for raising an army whilst they thought it impossible for the king to raise any, when they now saw that the king was like to be in the head of an army too, repented heartily what they had done, and wished nothing more than to prevent the two armies meeting in battle; which could be no otherways done but by a treaty; and they who had, as they believed, proceeded too far to be capable of security by any other expedient than by victory, and by reducing the king into the same straits he was in before he had an army, which they had no reason to despair of, were yet too wise to profess that

they desired the war; but seemed only to wish for such a peace as might be security to the people against all such oppressions as they had formerly undergone; and therefore they now prepared a message to the king, which should be sent to the earl of Essex, and by him to his majesty; and made the people believe that they had now made such an address to the king as would prevent the shedding of blood, and that a peace would be quickly concluded. The earl of Essex sent this message from Worcester by a gentleman who was only a trooper in his guards, one Fleetwood, a son of sir Miles Fleetwood, the same man who had afterwards so great power in the army, and was so much spoken of. This person, with a trumpet, came to Worcester, with a letter from the earl of Essex to the earl of Dorset, in which the message was enclosed, the letter containing some civil expression of confidence that he to whom it was directed did desire the peace of the kingdom and to prevent a civil war, and therefore desired him to deliver that message to the king; which message renewed their old professions of duty, and how desirous they were to prevent a civil war, and to return to their obedience; and therefore desired him to withdraw from his evil counsellors, who had so much misled him, and to return to his parliament, who thought of nothing but to make him great and glorious. And in order to his safety, and to defend him from his enemies, they had appointed the earl of Essex to receive him, who would perform all the offices of respect and duty to him which could be expected; and when he was returned to his parliament he should find that all the professions they had made to him were very sincere. Though the king had indignation enough for such an invitation, it was not thought worthy of any answer from him, and the earl of Dorset did not think himself obliged by the employment, or by any of the expressions of their good opinion; and so it was concluded that the messenger should return without any answer.

- 2 Within little more than twenty days from the time that the king came to Shrewsbury, he was in a posture convenient to find out the enemy. Wales had yielded him two or three good regiments of foot and some troops of horse, and Cheshire and Lancashire as many. The lord Grandison and sir John Byron had brought in their regiments of horse well completed, and the lord Digby had drawn together some troops of his. The greatest

defect was, that many of the horse and foot were so much without arms, that some regiments of foot had not above two or three companies which had any arms, and the rest only had cudgels, and few of the horse had any firearms, and some without swords. However, sitting still would bring no supply of that kind, and therefore the king resolved to march; and when he had got what he could from the train-bands, that the soldiers must do the rest upon the charge of the enemy, with whom every body desired to encounter. And as on the parliament side the opinion that the king could never raise an army was the true reason that they did raise one, and so the cause of the war, together with the general opinion that the parliament would never raise a rebellion; so on the king's side, the confidence that one battle would end and determine the war, in a total subduing one party, and extinguishing all the fire that kindled it, and consequently all counsels being directed to that one end of fighting, was the principal cause of continuing the war; whereas if the king had only stood upon the defensive in all places where he had power, and declined all occasions of fighting as much as had been possible, and so ordered all contributions and supplies of money to the equal support of the army, it would probably have succeeded better; and those divisions would sooner have fallen out in the parliament party which at last ruined themselves, after it had first destroyed the king and ruined the kingdom. But the making head against a rebellion and the supporting a civil war was so much above the comprehension of any man, that very few guessed aright what they would do, or could judge what was fit to be done by the king. The truth is, so many contrary causes contributed to the production of the same effects, that the prophecy of Esdras seemed to be accomplished in that time: *And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall wit hide itself, and understanding withdraw itself into his secret chamber.* 2 Esdras v. 9.

2 Y.

VI. 78, *last line*, trouble in a short time after.] *The following account of the battle of Edge-hill appears in the MS. of the Life:*

1 Upon Saturday the 22d of October, the king quartered at Edgeworth, the house of sir William Cherry; from whence the king resolved, having then no notice of the enemy, the next

morning to march to a house of the lord Say, near Banbury, which was then garrisoned by the parliament forces, which lay in a very pleasant and open country. But about daybreak on Sunday the 23d of October, prince Rupert sent the king word, that the parliament army lay all quartered together about a village called Keinton, within three or four mile of Warwick ; that there was a large field near the town, in which both armies might very well be drawn up ; and therefore that he had appointed all the horse to rendezvous upon the top of the hill called Edge-hill, which overlooked the field and the enemy's quarters, where he would expect the king's pleasure ; and if all the foot could meet there at any time, they might oblige the enemy to fight that day. The earl of Lindsey was quartered in a village called Culworth, about a mile distant from the court, in which village likewise the earl of Dorset, the lord Falkland, sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde were quartered, who quickly received advertisement from the general of the posture things were in, and made all the haste they could to the king, who was gone from Edgeworth, leaving orders for all men to repair to Edge-hill. The army was quartered at so great a distance, that they could not quickly be drawn together, so that it was afternoon before they could be brought to the rendezvous, and were then to file down a very steep hill, where three horse could not go in breast [sic] together, till they came into the field, which was large enough. The earl of Essex had no better intelligence of the king's motions, and the first notice he had was by the appearance of the king's horse in a body from the top of the hill. Some of his artillery, and some of his regiments, both of horse and foot, were a day's march behind ; but he found many objections in retiring to join with them, and therefore resolved to put himself in order to expect the king's army in the same place, and so put his whole body in battalia, within less than half a mile of the village, at very near a mile's distance from the hill, without moving till the king's army came to charge them. He had the entire choice of the ground, and was in battalia before one company of the king's went down the hill ; and if he had chosen his place near the hill, it would not have been possible for the king's army to have drawn down that steep narrow way without infinite prejudice : but the enemy standing at so great a distance, there was no other inconvenience than in the long

time that was spent in their descent, by reason whereof it was very near three of the clock in the afternoon before the battle began. It was as fair a day as that season of the year could yield, the sun clear, no wind or cloud appearing. The relation of that battle is not proper of this place, in which there were many notable accidents, which if they had been pursued by either side would have produced other effects. Prince Rupert charged the right wing of the enemy's horse so furiously, that they bore not the charge, but turned and fled in all the confusion imaginable, few of that body looking behind them till they came to St. Alban's, and many of them fled to London with news of the total defeat; and the greatest part of the king's horse which charged that wing pursued them so far, and they who did not entertained themselves with the plunder of the coaches and carriages, which were all in the village, that none of that wing could be ever rallied together that night, when there was need enough of their service. Wilmot had the command of the left wing, where were the lord Carnarvon, lord Grandison, and many other gallant gentlemen with their regiments and troops, who finding very little resistance from that party which they were to choose, many of them followed their friends of the right wing, to have a share of what might be gotten in the pursuit. And that which was worst of all, the reserve, which was intrusted to a very gallant gentleman, who had never been in action before, seeing no body of horse to charge, thought they might likewise follow the chase; and so pursued it accordingly: nor did that gentleman, who upon all occasions gave as great testimony and evidence of courage as any man, ever acknowledge that he had orders, or understood himself to be left with a reserve; so great a want there was of punctuality in that day's service. But if the horse of both wings had been contented with doing the business they were appointed to do, and had been less vehement in pursuing their enemy when they had quitted the field, that day had put a glorious end to the king's troubles and to the parliament's pretences; and the earl of Essex thought the work so near an end, that he alighted from his horse, and put himself into the head of his regiment of foot, with a pike in his hand, resolving to die there, and to take no quarter, as he confessed to the countess of Carlisle at his return to London. But the behaviour of the king's horse lost all those advantages; and the

reserve of the parliament horse, commanded by sir William Balfour, a Scotchman, who is mentioned before, observing the field quitted by both their wings, kept themselves at a distance, moving up and down the field, and were taken to be the reserve of the king's horse, until they found an opportunity to do good service. The foot of both sides stood their ground with great courage; and though many of the king's soldiers were unarmed, and had only cudgels, they kept their ranks, and took up the arms which their slaughtered neighbours left to them; and the execution was great on both sides, but much greater on the earl of Essex's party; and the king's general, in the head of his regiment on foot, was come within little more than pistol shot of that body where the earl of Essex was, (which was the thing he most desired in the world,) when Balfour with his reserve of horse charged the flank of that body of foot, and so broke it; and, whether from the horse or the foot, the earl of Lindsey fell, his leg being broke short off, and the lord Willoughby his son, being in the head of the king's regiment of guards, which he commanded, making haste to the relief of his father, they were both taken prisoners, and the whole body of the king's foot exceedingly shaken and broken, which changed exceedingly the fortune of the day; and if that wing of horse had sooner begun, when there were no other horse upon the field but the few gentlemen who attended about the persons of the king and the prince, he might have taken them both prisoners. When the king discerned how doubtfully affairs stood, he commanded the prince of Wales and the duke of York, who were both very young, to withdraw to the top of the hill, attended only by his company of pensioners, and commanded Mr. Hyde to wait upon them, and not depart from them; and as they went towards the hill, the evening now approaching, they saw a body of horse, which they made no doubt was the king's, and so moved towards them, when sir Richard Grime, an equerry of the king's, rid very little before, to know them, which he quickly did, and was beaten off his horse, and so well counterfeited being killed that he was presently stripped: all which being in the prince's view gave him advertisement what they were, so that he diverted his course to the other hand, and that body moved as quickly from him, being evidently in great apprehension; which if they had not been, the number about the prince was so very small, that they could have made

very little resistance, if Balfour had charged them : so that the preservation of those two young princes was a great blessing of that day : and they had not been long upon the hill before the king sent order that they should go to Edgeworth, where his majesty had lain the night before.

- ² Though the king's horse sustained no loss, and they who followed the enemy too far yet returned before it was night, either the officers would not or could not rally so many of them together as would charge that small reserve, which still went about the field without standing in any place to expect a charge. The lord Falkland, who in all such actions forgot that he was secretary of state, and desired to be where there would probably be most to do, had that day chosen to charge with Wilmot, who charged on the left wing, declining, upon the former expostulation, to be on the other wing with prince Rupert, used to protest that he saw no enemy that day of the horse that made any resistance, and observing that body under Balfour whole up and down, he spake to Wilmot that they might go and charge them, which the other seeming not to consider, he pressed him again ; to which the other made no other answer but, " My lord, we have got the day, and let us live to enjoy the fruit thereof ;" and after it was found, too late, what mischief that small body had done, and continued to do, the officers could not rally their horse together, albeit they were all in the field. From the time that the battle began, it was not above an hour and an half before the evening stopped the heat of the fight, and all men were content to stand still without making any advance ; and the king continued upon his horse, with some of the lords and other principal officers about him, in no degree satisfied with the posture they were in. Though they were sure they could not have lost many of the horse in the action, they knew not what was become of them, and the foot appeared very thin, as long as they could be discerned by the light ; and therefore they concluded they would be much thinner when the darkness should cover their withdrawing. So there wanted not those who proposed that the king would draw off the field, and with as many horse as he could rally hasten into the west, and leave both the foot and the cannon to the enemy. Which proposition received so much countenance from some great officers, that many thought it would have been resolved upon ; until sir John Colepepper, who

had that day charged with prince Rupert with much gallantry, (as his courage was always unquestionable,) did oppose it with great warmth and passion, and told the king he was ruined if he hearkened to it, which his majesty was not inclined to do, and so silenced the debate, declaring that he would not stir from the place till the morning; and so the night was passed, with inconvenience and trouble enough; for besides the expectation of a very melancholy prospect in the morning, the night itself was as cold as a very great frost and a sharp northerly wind could make it at that season of the year. Nor did the morning appear more auspicious; the troops of horse and foot appeared very thin; yet many, both officers and soldiers, who had sought warmer lodgings in the cold night, returned in the morning to see what was become of their friends; and so the numbers increased. The ordnance [was] all safe, and though the field was covered with the dead, yet nobody could tell to what party they belonged; and that which composed the minds of the soldiers most was, that the enemy's troops appeared as thin, as broken, and as dispirited as they could wish; so that they who could longest endure the station they were in were like to remain masters of the field. As soon as it was light, and the king had gotten a little sleep in his coach, whither he betook himself about daybreak, it was wished that the horse, which had yet endured no other shock than of the cold of the night, would make one brisk charge with that body of horse which remained of the enemy; but the officers, who without doubt had as much courage themselves as could be expected, had no mind to undertake for their men. They said, the bodies which were in view were rather an assembly of all the horse of the army, than regiments or troops under their officers, and so they knew not how to draw them out, or to depend upon them; that the horses were so weak that they would not be able to make a charge, and the men had not eaten or drank in more than four and twenty hours; in effect, that they had with much ado prevailed with them to keep the field, the king continuing there himself, but they much doubted, that as soon as it should be known that they were to renew the battle many of them would directly run away. Upon the whole matter, it was thought most counsellable that they should be in as good a posture to receive the enemy as was possible if they advanced, otherwise that they should only keep the ground

and expect what the enemy would do ; and it was believed by many, then and after, that which side soever had assumed the courage to have attacked the other would have proved victorious.

- 3 In this interval, those things occurred to memory which had been forgotten, or rather which could not be executed according to former resolutions before the battle. The proclamation, mentioned before, was now delivered to sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux king at arms, who in his robe of office carried it towards the earl of Essex's army, as it stood still in the field, intending to have proclaimed it in the head of the troops ; but he was met by a guard before he came thither, and charged upon his life, with pistols at his breast, neither to read any thing or to speak a word, being likewise blinded, and so conducted to the general, before whom he expostulated in vain of the indignity and injury done to his office, contrary to the law of nations ; which the standers by laughed at ; and when he began to read the proclamation, it was violently snatched from him with new reproaches and threats, if he presumed to say any thing to that purpose, or to scatter or let fall any of those proclamations. The earl of Essex asked him whether the king and the prince were in the field ; and when the herald said they were, and had been exposed to the same danger with the rest, he seemed not to believe it, and said he knew the king was not there : and if he had not really thought so, he would never have asked the question in the hearing of so many, who thereby were informed of what they had not before known or believed : for care had been taken, that the soldiers should think that they fought against those malignants who kept the king from the parliament, and that his majesty himself was not present in the field. The herald was suffered to stay very little time, and blinded again, and conducted by a guard to the outmost limits of the army ; and so returned with the news of the death of the earl of Lindsey, the king's general, and of many officers being prisoners who were thought to be dead. The king remained in the field till the evening, and till the enemy quitted it and marched away ; and then orders were sent to the foot and to the horse, to draw off to their former quarters, where they had been the night before the battle ; and his majesty himself likewise repaired to Edgeworth, from whence he had gone on Sunday morning ; not

resolving till the next morning what counsel to pursue; and he rested likewise the next day, to be better informed of the enemy's motion, and that the soldiers might, by so much longer rest in their quarters, recover their spirits.

2 Z.

VI. 88, *last line*, death of the earl of Lindsey.] *The following is taken from the MS. of the Life:*

The loss of the general was a great grief to the army, and, generally, to all who knew him; for he was a person of great honour, singular courage, and of an excellent nature. He took little delight in the office of general from the time that prince Rupert came, finding his highness to pass him by too much in his command; yet having so much reverence to the king's sister's son, and so tender a regard of the present service, that he seemed only to his friends to take notice of it; and seeing the battle that day set without advising with him, and in a form that he liked not, he said, since he was not fit to be a general, he would die a colonel in the head of his regiment; and was as good as his word. There were more lost of the king's side of note; the lord Aubigny, brother to the duke of Richmond, a young man of great expectation, who was killed in the charge with the left wing of horse, in which he commanded a troop, where there were so few lost, that it was believed that he fell by his own men, not without the suspicion of an officer of his own; and he was the only person of name or command who perished of the horse. Among the foot, many good officers were lost, and amongst them sir Edward Verney was the chief, who that day carried the king's standard, a very honest gentleman, and an old true servant of the king's, of which he had so very few just to him, that that single person could be ill spared. There fell two or three lieutenant colonels, and some good officers of inferior quality.

Prisoners taken by the enemy were, &c. *as in par.* 94, l. 1.

3 A.

VI. 126, l. 4, with his army to Reading,] *Thus continued in the MS. of the Life:*

but could not overtake his horse, which was still before; and his majesty followed to Colebrooke; whither a message from

the parliament was sent to him, to desire him to advance no farther before they sent persons to treat with him, which they were ready to do. And he did return such an answer as made them believe that he would expect them there, without moving nearer towards London. And if he had then stopped any farther advance, and himself upon that address retired to his castle at Windsor, it would have been delivered to him by the order of the parliament, which had then some troops in it; and being possessed of so considerable a place, the treaty would very probably have been concluded with good success. But the fate of that poor kingdom contradicted that blessing. All things were in a hurry, and the horse still engaged the king to follow, so that he advanced with the whole army to Brentford, and cut off some regiments of foot, which the earl of Essex had sent thither, himself being the night before entered London. It was now evident to all men that there had [been] great oversight in making so great haste; all thoughts of treaty were dashed; they who most desired it did not desire to be in the king's mercy, and they now believed, by his majesty's making so much haste towards them, after their offer of a treaty, that he meant to have surprised and taken vengeance of them without distinction. All people prepared for a vigorous defence, and, beside the earl of Essex's army, all the city and nobility that remained there marched out with him to Hounslow Heath, with all things proportionable, or that could be of use or convenience to so numerous an army; where they quickly had a view of the whole miserable forces which had given them that alarm, which they found cause enough to despise, and so recovered easily their own courage. And the king found it necessary, after he had rested one night at Hampton court, to make a hasty retreat to Reading; where he left a garrison of about three thousand men under the command of sir Arthur Aston, who undertook to fortify it: and having likewise left colonel Blake with his regiment to fortify Wallingford castle, his majesty, towards the end of November, returned to Oxford, unsatisfied with the progress he had made, which had likewise raised much faction and discontent amongst the officers, every man imputing the oversights which had been committed to the rashness and presumption of others; and prince Rupert, in the march, contracted an irreconcilable prejudice to Wilmot, who

was then lieutenant-general of the horse, and was not fast in the king's favour.

- 2 As soon as the king returned to Oxford, his first care was to publish such declarations and proclamations as might best compose the minds of the people, by assuring them of the king's impatient desire of peace, which his hasty march from Colebrooke to Brentford, after the receipt of the parliament message, had made much doubted, and the managers there lost no time in the improving those jealousies; and therefore his majesty caused a declaration to be published concerning that affair, and the ground of his advancement to Brentford; which declaration was prepared by the lord Falkland, through whose hands that address, and the answer to it, had passed. That declaration, and the answer to the nineteen propositions, which is mentioned before, were the two only declarations of the king's which were not prepared and drawn by Mr. Hyde, who at that time was busy in other things, as drawing proclamations, and other declarations and writings, by which the king thought his service to be much advanced.

3 B.

VI. 126, l. 4, This alarum quickly came to London.] *The following brief account is given in the MS. of the History:*

The fame of the great distractions at London, and the advices from unskilful persons thence, who believed that the appearance of his majesty with his forces near London would so terrify the disaffected, and give such life and courage to those who wished well to him, that the gates would be open to him, prevailed with his majesty, when all armies used to betake themselves to their winter quarters, to lead his again into the field; and therefore having rested himself at Oxford only three days, he marched towards Reading, prince Rupert with his horse and dragoons having so frightened that garrison, (for there was a garrison planted in it by the parliament,) that the chief officers, upon the fame of his coming, fled, that the town willingly received the king's forces, and delivered all their arms and ammunition to his disposal. This alarum &c. *as in par.* 126, l. 4.

3 C.

VI. 186, l. 28—36, about to change—hurt the church.] *Thus originally in the MS. of the History :*

It were therefore to be wished that in all great acts of state some memorials should be kept, and always reserved in archives of the crown, of the true motives and grounds of such acts, (which are seldom the same that appear publicly;) whereby posterity may duly discern, before any alteration or revocation, the policy thereof, and so take heed that that may not be looked upon as indifferent, which, rightly understood, is of a substantial consideration. This was the state of the king's affairs at home and abroad when his standard was erected at Nottingham.

3 D.

VI. 400, l. 26, to dispose of him as he thought fit,] *This character of lord Pembroke was thus originally continued :*

till he committed so many faults and follies, that the king was willing to take the advantage of a censure the house of peers inflicted upon him for a rash and choleric action he had committed at a private committee that sat in the house, where in a debate he had struck or offered to strike the lord Matravers with his white staff, the other throwing an ink-horn at him; for which unusual and indecent behaviour the house thought itself obliged to send them both to the Tower, without any imagination that either of them should undergo any other censure, and discharged both within few days: but in the mean time the king had sent for his white staff, declaring, that as he would not suffer it to remain in the Tower, so he would not put it into the hand of a man who had deserved so severe a punishment from the parliament: which they looked upon as no great compliment to them, and were exceedingly troubled when they saw the office conferred upon the earl of Essex, being very sure that the one was removed, whatever was pretended, for his concurrence with them, and fearing that the other would concur the less with them for that promotion: and probably they might not have been deceived in that, if any care and dexterity had been used to keep as well as to get him.

3 E.

VII. 38, *last line*, with the success that is mentioned.] *These words are an interlineation in the MS., a pen having been drawn through what follows :*

where sir Arthur Aston (a man of a much greater reputation in war than he deserved) was governor, with three thousand good foot and a regiment of horse ; and if that body of foot (which should have been drawn out within less than a month, which was as soon as it was imagined that the enemy would take the field) had been cut off, the king would have been deprived of the best part of his infantry ; which was well enough known to the enemy, and was the principal cause of their engagement. The works were rather a trench cast up to secure a winter quarter than any fortification to endure a siege, the purpose having been always to throw in all the works in the spring, and to leave the town open, his majesty having not men enough to supply garrisons, and retaining still the old unhappy opinion, that another action in the field would determine the contest. However, the earl of Essex, thinking it to be stronger than it was, or willing that others should think it so, quartered his army round about it, to keep it from supply, and disposed all things for a formal siege. The several transactions within and without the town during that siege ; the hurt of the governor, whether real or pretended ; the treaty about the surrender, and the king's endeavour to relieve it during that treaty and after it was begun, and the garrison's refusing to draw out because of the treaty ; the surrender of the town thereupon, and the secure march of the garrison to Oxford ; the disorders and jealousies which happened there about that surrender ; the earl of Essex's march towards Oxford, and drawing up his whole army in sight thereof, and the consternation there, and his making his headquarter at Thame, are all fitter subjects for the history of that time than for this narration, [*namely, the author's life.*]

3 F.

VII. 45, *last line*, head quarter for his horse.] *The MS. proceeds thus :*

The earl of Essex had as little joy of his conquests : the city murmured, and thought they were betrayed : they expected the

reducing of Reading, by taking or destroying the garrison that was in it, which they were assured comprised above one half of the king's army; so that being defeated, the war would be at an end: whereas by giving them leave to march to the king with their arms, they had enabled him to fight a battle with them, which he could not otherwise have done: all that vast expense of money about the siege had been to no purpose, and had only recovered a town which would have been left to them within one fortnight without any loss of men or money. They were now very angry that he had not marched to Oxford when he first sat down before Reading, which if he had taken, (as with the same expense he might have done,) Reading must have yielded without a blow: and indeed there had been consultation at Windsor, before the expedition began, whether they should besiege Oxford or Reading first; and the earl himself inclined to Oxford, but was advised to the other, for the conveniency of being supplied with provisions from London, and out of an apprehension that if the whole army should go before Oxford, and leave so strong a garrison as Reading behind them, they might not only be much infested from thence in their siege, but more frequent alarms would come from that place to the houses and the city than they would well bear: which without doubt was as great an oversight as any they committed; for if they had at that time, with that full army they were then masters of, marched to Oxford, prince Rupert being, as is before remembered, at Litchfield, they had found the place every way worse provided for a siege than Reading, the fortifications being very slight and unfinished, and no public magazines of victual in store; so that, though it may be the king himself might with his horse have escaped before they could have environed the town, the place, having a very thin garrison of soldiers, and a great company of lords and ladies, and persons of quality, not easy to be governed and commanded, could not probably have long held out, and then Reading must have been at their devotion; and in the mean time they had horse enough, belonging to the city and their garrison at Windsor, to secure them from those excursions. But that which troubled the earl of Essex more than these discourages was the ill condition his army was in; they had contracted in this short siege so great a sickness, and such an indisposition to action, and so many were killed and run away,

that he was in no posture to pursue his advantage; so that after all those mountains of promises &c. *as in par*, 48, *line* 14.

3 G.

VII. 74, *last line*, edge of the other county.] *The MS. is thus continued:*

At the same time when the earl of Essex began his march from Reading, colonel Urry, a Scotchman, who had served in that army from the beginning with great reputation, (as he was an excellent commander of horse,) till the difference that is before spoken of between the English and Scotch officers; after which he laid down his commission; though, out of respect to the earl of Essex, he stayed some time after with him as a volunteer; and now came to the king to Oxford, having before given notice to the earl of Brainford that he meant to do so. He came no sooner thither, than, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he proposed to prince Rupert to wait on him, to visit the enemy's quarters, and being well acquainted with their manner of lying and keeping their guards, undertook to be his guide to a quarter where they were least expected: and the prince willingly consenting to the proposition drew out a strong party of one thousand horse and dragoons, which he commanded himself, and marched with colonel Urry to a town four or five miles beyond the head quarter, where were a regiment of horse and a regiment of dragoons, and about daybreak fell upon them; and with little resistance, and no loss of his own men, he killed and took the whole party, except some few, who hid themselves in holes, or escaped by dark and untrodden paths. From thence, in his way back, according to purpose, he fell upon another village, where some horse and a regiment of foot were quartered; where he had the same success, and killed and took and dispersed them all. So he having fortunately performed all he hoped, his highness hastened his retreat as fast as he could to Oxford; having appointed a regiment of foot to attend him at a pass in the way for his security. But the alarm had passed throughout all the enemy's quarters; so that before the prince could reach the pass where his foot expected him, he found the enemy's whole army was drawn out, and a strong party of their horse, almost equal to his own in number, so hard pressed him, that, being then to enter a lane, they would dis-

order his rear before he could join with his foot, which were a mile before. He had very little time to deliberate, being even at the entrance into the lane. If he could have hoped to have retired in safety, he had no reason to venture to fight with a fresh party, excellently armed, and in number equal, his own being harassed and tired with near twenty miles' march, and loaden with spoil and prisoners, scarce a soldier without a led horse: but the necessity obliged him to stay; and after a short consideration of the manner of doing it, directing as small a convoy as was possible to guard the prisoners, and to hasten with all the unnecessary baggage and led horses, he resolved to keep the ground he had in the plain field, and after as short a pause, to charge the party that advanced, lest the body might come up to them. And they came on amain, leaving it only in his election, by meeting them, to have the reputation of charging them, or, by standing still, to be charged by them. Hereupon they were quickly engaged in a sharp encounter, the best, fiercest, and longest maintained that hath been by the horse during the war; for the party of the parliament consisted not of the bare regiments and troops which usually marched together, but of prime gentlemen and officers of all their regiments, horse and foot, who, being met at the head quarter upon the alarum, and conceiving it easy to get between prince Rupert and Oxford, and not having their own charges ready to move, joined themselves as volunteers to those who were ready, till their own regiments should come up; and so, the first ranks of horse consisting of such men, the conflict was maintained some time with equal confidence. In the end, many falling and being hurt on both sides, the prince prevailed, the rebels being totally routed, and pursued, till the gross of the army was discovered, and then his highness, with the new prisoners he had taken, retired orderly to the pass where his foot and former purchase expected him; and thence sending colonel Urry to acquaint the king with the success, who knighted the messenger for his good service, returned, with near two hundred prisoners, and seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, to Oxford. On the king's part in this action were lost, besides few common men, no officers of note, but some hurt: on the enemy's side, many of their best officers, more than in any battle they fought, and amongst them (which made the names of the rest less inquired

after by the one and less lamented by the other) colonel Hambden, who was shot into the shoulder with a brace of pistol bullets, of which wound, with very sharp pain, he died within ten days, to as great a consternation of all that party as if their whole army had been defeated and cut off.

3 H.

VII. 79, *last line*, little hope of their recovery,] *The MS. thus proceeds :*

1 of which Mr. Hambden was one ; who would not stay that morning till his own regiment came up, but put himself a volunteer in the head of those troops who were upon their march, and was the principal cause of their precipitation, contrary to his natural temper, which, though full of courage, was usually very wary ; but now, carried on by his fate, he would by no means expect the general's coming up ; and he was of that universal authority, that no officer paused in obeying him. And so in the first charge he received a pistol shot in his shoulder, which broke the bone, and put him to great torture : and after he had endured it about three weeks, or less time, he died, to the most universal grief of the parliament that they could have received from any accident : and it equally increased the joy for the success at Oxford ; and very reasonably ; for the loss of a man which would have been thought a full recompense for a considerable defeat, could not but be looked upon as a glorious crown of a victory.

2 Mr. Hambden hath been mentioned before as a very extraordinary person, and being now brought to his grave before he had finished any part of the great model which he had framed, and there being hereafter no occasion to enlarge upon him, it is pity to leave him here without some testimony. He was, as hath been said, of an ancient family and a fair estate in the county of Buckingham, where he was esteemed very much, which his carriage and behaviour towards all men deserved very well. But there was scarce a gentleman in England, of so good a fortune, (for he was owner of above one thousand five hundred pounds [in] land yearly,) less known out of the county in which he lived than he was, until he appeared in the exchequer chamber to support the right of the people in the case of ship-money, and, to avoid the payments of twenty,

shillings, which was required of him, engaged himself in a very great charge to make the illegality of it appear, against the king, and the current of the court at that time, when it seldom met with a barefaced opposition in any counsel they [thought] fit to undertake and pursue. Yet the king, who had reason to believe his title to be good, from the counsel that advised it, who was his attorney-general Noy, a man of the most famed knowledge in the law, gave the direction to have his right defended, without the least discountenance or reproach to the person who contended with him. This contradiction of the king's power made him presently the most generally known and the most universally esteemed throughout the whole nation that any private man at that time could be. In the beginning of the parliament he was not without ambition to be of power in the court, but not finding that satisfaction quickly, he changed it into another ambition of reigning over the court, and was deepest in all the designs to destroy it, yet dissembled that design so well, that he had too much credit with men most moderate and sober in all their purposes. *Erat illi consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat.* No man seemed to have more modesty and more humility, and more to resign himself to those he conferred with, but always led them into his resolutions. In a word, he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief, and his death appeared to be a great deliverance to the nation.

3 I.

VII. 84, *l.* 27, In a word—deliverance to the nation.] *These words are substituted in place of the following in the MS.:*

being an irrecoverable blow to the parliament army, of which the king had so little dread before that fortunate encounter, that hearing preparations were made at London to send sir William Waller into the west, his majesty had sent his nephew prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford to join with his victorious forces there; of whom it is now time to give an account.

3 K.

VII. 85, *l.* 1. The earl of Essex's army.] *The MS. proceeds thus:*

I The earl of Essex's army was so weakened by these defeats,

and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet and restless enemies ; and the factions and animosities at London required his presence there ; and he thought the army would be sooner recruited there than at so great a distance ; so that about the beginning of May, or soon after, he marched from Thame to London, where he found jealousy and contention enough, leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's. There was newly discovered a design amongst some citizens of name, with the privy of members of both houses of the best rank, to compel the parliament by force to make peace with the king, the correspondence between the persons of honour and the citizens being managed by Mr. Waller, who, upon a light discovery made by a false servant who had overheard some discourses, very frankly confessed all he knew, named lords and ladies, and gentlemen and merchants, whereof some were condemned and executed, and others of all sorts imprisoned. The relation of that whole affair, and his miserable behaviour in it, deserves to be the part of a more formal discourse. It was not thought prudent to examine that business to the bottom, in which they found very considerable persons engaged or privy ; but having taken the lives of some with all the circumstances of terror, causing them to be executed in the streets before their own doors, in the sight of their neighbours, whereof one was a gentleman of good reputation, who had married the sister of Mr. Waller, and had been very assistant to him in his education, whom he sacrificed now without the least [sic] or reluctancy ; they thought it best to take the words of all the members of both houses for their own indemnity, by their severally pronouncing a solemn protestation and vow, that they had no hand or privy in that design and plot, and in which they promised always to adhere to the parliament, and to assist the forces raised by the parliament against the army raised by the king, which was an expression never before heard of ; and so all jealousies were extinguished, no man refusing or pausing to take it, choosing rather to run the hazard of that, than to be made a spectacle as their other friends are ; though as soon as they had secured themselves by that sacred vow, they made what haste they could to the king for better security, and where they might procure God's pardon as well as the king's, without

incurring any danger for asking it. Mr. Waller would have been glad to have got his own liberty at the same price, or of any other oath or vow; but he was kept in prison, and continually threatened with death, which he feared and abhorred, till at last [he] redeemed himself at a ransom of ten thousand [pounds], to supply the affairs of the parliament, and as much more spent upon divines and other intercessors, besides marrying a wife whose friends had contributed to his absolution, and besides, the disposing them to accept all this by a speech, pronounced by him at the bar of the house of commons, of the greatest flattery and the greatest falsehood: such a meanness and lowness of spirit, that life itself was no recompense for it.

2 Whilst the affairs of the parliament were in this distraction, the king's recovered great reputation, and the season of the year being fit for action, all discontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next winter. Sir Ralph Hopton, and that handful of gentlemen which in the beginning of the troubles had been forced to seek refuge in Cornwall, had, with the countenance and assistance of some faithful persons there, so good success, that they had mastered all unquiet spirits in that county, and had sent to the king, that if his majesty would supply them with some troops of horse and ammunition, of which they stood in great need, they would march into Somersetshire, and there wait his majesty's farther commands. The queen soon after her landing, and before she could be ready for her own march, sent a good supply of arms and ammunition to Oxford, where there was so great want of it, that if the earl had come before Oxford, there was not powder enough for the action of four hours, nor a hundred spare arms in the magazine. This seasonable supply being now come, the king thought it necessary to give such a countenance to his Cornish troops (for the whole body was raised in Cornwall) as might reduce all the western counties to his devotion, where though the parliament had in every county, Cornwall now excepted, some garrisons upon the sea-coast, yet they consisted only of the inhabitants and men drawn out of the adjacent villages, and they could not all together send out a party of horse and foot strong enough to give any trouble to the little Cornish army, or to interrupt their march.

3 The principal gentry of Somersetshire were now in Oxford,

and were all joint suitors to the king to send the marquis of Hertford again into the west; and both the king and the marquis consented to it; and the king appointed them all to meet every day at the chancellor of the exchequer's lodging, whom he commanded to assist them in adjusting all that was to be done in order to a present march, the king declaring what troops he would spare for that service, and what ammunition should be ready; the rest they were to advance by their own industry and with their own money, for it was no secret that the king had none. The marquis himself was content to come to the chancellor of the exchequer's lodging to confer with the gentlemen, and every man subscribed what he would provide before he went out of the town, and what he would undertake to have ready in the several counties where his interest lay, and some brought in money towards carrying on the work; so that in few days a great advance seemed to be made. But now the fame of new successes in the west, and the general good inclinations of the several counties, and the visible distractions at London, raised new thoughts; and whereas before nothing was thought of but how to convoy this body of Cornish foot, which had performed so many brave actions, after the petty garrisons in the country should be suppressed, which could not take up much time, to increase the body of the king's army, that it might march near London, if it should appear counsellable, it being hoped that those western gentlemen would be presently able to raise strength enough in their several counties to keep these in peace and quiet, it was now thought necessary, upon the stock and credit of those forces, and the good conjuncture, to raise a new army, which should never join with the king's, but after subduing the lesser garrisons might take Portsmouth, and so visit Sussex and those parts even to Surrey and Kent, where there were likewise some undertakers to be ready to expect and assist them. And now, not only those officers who had undertaken to raise troops and regiments to bring into the king's army, for which they had received commissions, and found they could not perform, desired to be a part of the new army, but many others, who were weary of their superior officers in the army, or hoped to be superiors, were all contriving how to carry away the troops they had into this army, where they expected to find more benefit and preferment; and the marquis was willing to

harken to any of those propositions as the best way to increase his own strength, and so consented to the making general officers for a royal army, without thinking upon his old friends who had raised that body in Cornwall, and were of quality and abilities for command superior to most of this new model, and could never submit to be commanded by them.

- 4 Prince Rupert, who had always looked upon the interest and credit of the marquis of Hertford as somewhat that eclipsed him, and seeing him like now to be in the head of a royal army, which was to be increased with troops drawn from his command, used all the means he could by himself, and those few others who were trusted by him, that the king might be persuaded that his brother prince Maurice (who had only a regiment in the army) would be fit to be made general of this army. The king always loved his family immoderately, and with notable partiality, and was willing to believe that their high quality could not be without all those qualities and qualifications which were equal to it, if they had an opportunity to manifest those endowments, easily entertained that overture, and believed the marquis himself would easily resign his pretences, and be contented to serve under a grandson of king James, and the king's nephew. He made choice of the chancellor of the exchequer to dispose the marquis to this condescension; but he did not only excuse himself from undertaking the office, but used all the means and endeavours he could to dissuade the king from his design, telling him that he thought it easy to dissuade the marquis from undertaking the enter[prise,] which nothing but affection to his majesty's service could dispose him to, the marquis loving his ease, and abhorring any fatigue, and having no military quality but courage, in which he abounded; but if his majesty would have him engaged in the enterprise, he would not find that he would take any inferior command; which his majesty upon further endeavour found to be true; and judging that the presence of the marquis was absolutely necessary for the disposing and reconciling all those western counties to his service, his fortune, which was very great, lying in many of them, he appointed his nephew prince Maurice to be lieutenant general under the marquis, which nobody believed would produce any good effect, there being no two men of more contrary natures and dispositions. The prince had never sacrificed to

the Graces, nor conversed amongst men of quality, but had most used the company of ordinary and inferior men, with whom he loved to be very familiar. He was not qualified with parts of nature, and less with any acquired; and towards men of the best condition, with whom he might very well have justified a familiarity, he maintained at least the full state of his birth, and understood very little more of the war than to fight very stoutly when there was occasion. The marquis was of a very civil and affable nature, and knew well what respect to pay to the other if he were fairly encouraged to it; but he was withal very great hearted, and where more was expected he would give less than was due; nor was there any third person of quality and discretion who had interest enough in either of them to prevent misunderstandings, which there were too many industrious enough to foment; so that at their leaving Oxford, (which was about the middle of May,) it was not hard to divine that that subordination would not last long, nor produce any good effects.

3 L.

VII. 100, *last line*, inclined to do.] *The following account is extracted from the MS. of the Life:*

- 1 For six or seven days there was continual skirmishes, Waller retiring with great order and little loss, and the marquis advancing with some little advantage, till they came near Bath; and then Waller, having drawn a regiment or two of foot from the garrison of Bristol, and others out of the country, by the credit and countenance of Hungerford and Popham, appeared near Lansdown, an open plain within two miles of Bath, where both sides drew up in good order, having room enough. The action was performed on both sides with courage and resolution, till the night parted them, when Waller drew to the lower ground, to the shelter of a hedge and wall. Many officers and gentlemen of quality fell on both sides, and if the Cornish foot had not stood very firm when the horse was shaken, it would have proved a sad day; but sir Bevil Greenvil, in the head of his pikes, bore the shock of Waller's horse, and broke them, and forced them to retire, though himself lost his life in the service, to the universal grief of the army, and indeed of all who knew him. He was a gallant and sprightly gentleman, of the greatest reputation and interest in Cornwall, and had most contributed

to all the service that had been done there, and to the leading the army out of the country, and by the gentleness of his spirit, accompanied with courage and authority, had restrained much of the licence, and suppressed the murmur and mutiny, to which that people were too much inclined, especially after they were joined to the marquis's troops, and made subject to the command of new officers. All men exceedingly lamented his loss at the time he fell, and had cause to renew the lamentation very often afterwards. Though the day had proved sad and melancholique enough, the evening was by much the more tragical; for when the forces were content to breathe on both sides, some of the officers repairing to the artillery, to see in what state it was, and to give order to send ammunition to those places where it was wanted, by what accident was never known, a waggon of powder was blown up, which blew up and killed all the persons about it, whereof some were of name. Col. Thomas Sheldon, who commanded prince Maurice's regiment of horse, was at some distance from it, yet his horse was killed under him, and himself so hurt from head to foot, that he died with[in] two days, a gentleman of great courage, and generally beloved; and (which made up the tragedy) sir Ralph Hopton, whose name had been much and deservedly magnified in all the western service, being yet farther from the waggon, was by the blast of the powder thrown from his horse, which was killed, and so hurt, that he was looked upon as dead for many days, though, by the diligence of his servants, with God's blessing, he recovered afterwards to give signal marks of his fidelity to the king; but the marks of that ill accident were never worn out, and deprived him of that gracefulness and lustre in his person and countenance which he formerly had.

- 2 In the morning after this battle, it appeared that Waller had drawn off all his men in the night, leaving lighted matches in the wall and hedge, to amuse the enemy; which raised their spirits very much, and was an evident sign that the victory remained on the marquis's part, and gave them cause to believe that the loss was very great on that side, and that they should be troubled no more with him; so that after a day's repose in the neighbour villages, which was in many respects necessary, the marquis continued his march towards Oxford by the way of Chippenham; but quickly found that Waller, with the same repose, and the fresh supplies he received every day from the country, attended

upon his rear very near, so that both horse and foot were engaged every day, and they now found the loss of the waggon of powder which was blown up at Lansdown, for they had not enough left to make a stand, or to line the hedges to secure their rear, and keeping [sic] the enemy back ; so that when they came to the Devizes, an open market town in Wiltshire, of receipt enough for the men, they found it necessary that all the foot, their cannon, and their sick and wounded men, which had necessarily made their march slow, should remain there, whilst the horse went away, as they easily might, to Oxford ; from whence they doubted not to send fresh succour to the rest before they should be overpressed or overpowered by Waller, who was not yet come out, and found difficulties enough in his pursuit. When they came into the Devizes, they found they had not match enough to keep their guards, so that both the marquis and prince Maurice in the night thought fit likewise to leave them, and so made haste to Oxford, where the old jealousies between the prince and the marquis were presently revived ; the friends of either making all the disadvantageous reports they could of the other, whilst most men thought neither of them had done honourably in abandoning the army, and coming themselves to call for help. In the mean time the small army in the Devizes, which was upon the matter left without command, for the forces which had been brought or raised by the marquis, and were much less in number than the Cornish, who would only obey the officers they had known, and the lord remained so ill, and so obliged not to come into the air, that he would not assume the command, whom all would obey ; notwithstanding all which, and though Waller was now come before the town, and summoned them, the officers agreed so well, and took pains by beating all the bed-cords in the town into matches, and barricadoing the avenues, that Waller durst not assault them, so that they relied upon succour in time, and expected it accordingly, and without any other impatience than by giving account to Oxford of the truth of their condition.

- 3 This sudden unexpected news, for the last account had brought the issue of the battle at Lansdown, where the victory was understood to be on the king's side, or at least the enemy to be dismayed, raised such a damp at Oxford, (as the ebbs and floods of fortune made always great impressions there,) that all men

[were] dispirited, and the arrival of the prince and the marquis in the break of the day spread the rumour through the town that that army was totally lost. The queen was now come from York, and upon her march towards Oxford, and the king had sent to her that he would not fail to meet her such a day at a place a good day's journey from Oxford, and that appointment must of necessity hold, and good troops attend the king, who was to march very near the garrison of Warwick, belonging to the parliament. However, it was evident that if the Devizes was not instantly relieved that gallant party must be lost. It was therefore quickly resolved, that Wilmot, lieutenant general of the horse, should march away with a good party of about 1200 horse and some dragoons, there being sent before a regiment of horse under the command of the earl of Crawford, with a supply of as much powder and match as could well be carried by the troopers on their horses, which was lost, and that regiment disordered by the enemy, which had blocked up all the passages to the town. Waller had not so soon notice of the approach of the king's horse as his vigilance might have expected, and he received it first by the interception of a messenger, who was sent to inform those in the town of it, that they might be ready to draw out as soon as the enemy could be obliged to draw off; and upon this advertisement, and fearing to be enclosed between the horse which were coming and the foot of the town, which he knew to be superior in courage to his, and having great confidence in his horse, he drew off his horse, foot, and cannon to an open plain piece of ground, upon the top of a steep hill from the town, and about a mile's distance from thence, called Roundway hill, where the enemy was to pass, and there he put his men in order, and expected them. Wilmot, finding them in this posture, with horse, foot, and cannon much superior to him in number, and hearing nothing of the foot from the town, though he had made all signs to them from another part of the hill, according to what he had appointed them to expect by his messenger, that body of foot being the strength upon which he relied, knew not what to do; but calling his officers together, amongst whom there was the earl of Carnarvon, who was general of the horse under the marquis of Hertford in the west, and had been engaged in all the actions with Waller, and so knew his manner of fighting, who came now only as a volunteer in the regiment of sir John

Byron, they all found it necessary to fight, since they could not expect the foot longer than the enemy would give them leave; and observing that Waller had placed all his horse in several small bodies at some distance each from other, and all between them and his foot and cannon, Carnarvon said that the regiment of cuirassiers, who were all covered with armour, and commanded by sir Arthur Haslerig, and which stood nearest to them, were the men upon whom Waller principally depended, and therefore desired Wilnot that their whole body might charge them; and if they could rout them, it was probable it might have a good effect upon their whole army: which advice being followed, had the effect desired; for that body being charged by all the king's horse, though they stood well, and longer than was expected, could not bear that shock; and when they were broken, they fell upon their own next body of horse, and disordered them, and all their horse fell upon and into their body of foot, and routed them more than the enemy could have done; and thereupon Waller himself, Haslerig, sir Edward Hungerford, and such other officers as were best horsed, without making farther resistance, fled the nearest way in all the confusion imaginable; many running their horses down the steep of the hill, and so falling, were either killed with the fall, or so hurt that they became prisoners. By this time the body of the foot in the Devizes was come up, without having received any other advertisement, till after they came out of the town, than the seeing the enemy in some disorder drawing themselves together from their several quarters, which at first they believed to be upon design, but soon after, by their march towards the plain, they concluded that the relief was come from Oxford; and so they quickly got their men together who were in health, (for sir Ralph Hopton and many other sick and wounded men were still left behind in the town;) and when they were drawn out, they received another direction from Wilnot which way they were to march; and so they came to the top of the ground when the enemy was in that confusion, and lost no time in falling upon the foot, to revenge what they had suffered, and sacrificed too many to the memory of their beloved Greenvil. In this total general defeat many were slain, without the loss of any officer of name on the king's side, and about twelve hundred men taken prisoners, whereof many of their considerable officers, all their baggage and cannon, and a rich

booty to the soldiers, who upon this good fortune had leisure to repose themselves in the quarters they were before weary of, and to expect new orders from the king.

3 M.

VII. 120, *last line*, remembered in their places.] *The MS. of the History proceeds thus:*

- 1 This thirteenth of July was a day of perfect joy to the king ; for at the same time, and in the very hour, that the lord Wilmot vanquished that army at Roundway-down, the king met and received his royal consort the queen, to his unspeakable satisfaction, in that ground under Edge-hill upon which the year before he had fought his first battle, her majesty having left the earl of Newcastle in a great likelihood of being entirely master of the north ; whose actions there were so prosperous, and so full of notable accidents, that they deserve a history apart ; and therefore I shall only insert such of them in this place [as] were most signal, and which had the greatest influence upon the series of the greatest affairs.
- 2 Upon the queen's arrival, (which is before set forth at large,) and the conversion of sir Hugh Cholmondley which ensued thereupon, the king's affairs in the north, which were in good growth and improvement before, flourished with notable vigour ; and yet it must be confessed, the enemy in those parts, with whom the earl of Newcastle was to contend, in courage, vigilance, and insuperable industry, was not inferior to any who disquieted his majesty in any part of his dominions, and who pursued any advantage he got farther, and recovered any loss he underwent sooner, than any other in the kingdom : so that there were more sharp skirmishes and more notable battles in that one county of York, than in all the kingdom besides, and less alteration upon them than could be expected ; the lord Fairfax and his son with incredible activity reducing towns when they had an army, and, when they were defeated in the field, out of small towns recovering new armies. About—[*Here the noble historian stops, leaving two pages blank for the transactions he was about to relate, but which unfortunately he seems never to have completed.*]

3 N.

VII. 121, *last line*, glad of peace upon easy terms.] *Here follows, in the MS. of the Life,*

- 1 There had been the winter before an unhappy design for the surprise of Bristol, upon intelligence with some citizens, not maturely ripened, which being discovered, an alderman, and another citizen of good account, had been tried before a council of war, and executed in the streets, and many others had fled out of the city, which, though it disappointed the design, had exceedingly enraged a great part of the city, which longed to be freed from the yoke of servitude they were under. And now the strength of that garrison had been drawn out, and lost under Waller at Roundway, very few of them returning to Bristol, so that it seemed very counsellable to the king to make his first enterprise upon Bristol, where the little reputation the governor Nathaniel Fiennes had in war, and the general prejudice the city and country had against him, made the attempt appear the more hopeful; and it was thereupon resolved accordingly. The marquis of Hertford, with prince Maurice, was to return to his western troops, who remained about the Devizes still, and with them to march to that side of Bristol which lay next to Somersetshire, and to quarter as near the city as conveniently they could, that nothing might go in or out. And prince Rupert was with the horse and foot of the king's army to march and quarter upon that side of the city that lies next Gloucestershire, to straiten it likewise as close as on the other side; and a day was agreed upon, that they might compute both armies might by that time be come to their several quarters, and then the generals on both parts might consult and conclude what was farther to be done for the attacking the town; and they did all meet accordingly.
- 2 Upon a full conference, it was agreed that the next morning they would assault the city in several places at once, the marquis with his forces on that side on which he was quartered, and the prince on the other; the works on the Somersetshire side being much higher and stronger and the graff deeper than they were on the Gloucestershire side, where prince Rupert lay; and the very place assigned for the marquis's assault was much harder than many other places upon that line, which might with less danger and as much benefit have been entered; which made

the Cornish (who use to say what they think) murmur loudly, that they were carried thither to be paid for the service they had done. On the western side, after a continued assault of near three hours, they were beaten off, and upon the matter quite gave over the assault, with a very great loss of common men and inferior officers of very good reputation. There fell likewise sir Nicholas Slanning and colonel Trevannion, the heads of the Cornish, with sir Bevil Greenvil and sir Brutus Buck, colonel of the marquis's own regiment. Sir Nicholas Slanning was brought off the field, his thigh broken with a musket bullet, of which he died a fortnight after, when the king was in Bristol. He was a young gentleman of about 25 years of age, of a small stature, but very handsome, and of a lovely countenance, of excellent parts and invincible courage. He was master of a fair estate in land, and had the government of Pendennis castle, and was vice-admiral of the Castle; both which offices and commands in so dexterous and active a hand were of infinite benefit to the king's service; he being a man well loved and obeyed, and there being an entire friendship between him, Greenvil, and Trevannion, with a firm conjunction with John Arundel of Tre-rice, and his two sons John and Richard, both very active men, and in command. Cornwall was quickly disposed to serve the king as soon as sir Ralph Hopton and the other gentlemen, named before, came into that county. He was of a very acceptable presence, great wit, and spake very well, and with notable vivacity, and was well believed by the people. He was in all the actions and in all parties where there was action, in signal command, and never received hurt or wound till this last fatal assault. He told the chancellor of the exchequer, who visited him after the king came to Bristol, that he had always despised bullets, having been so used to them, and almost thought they could not hit him. He professed great joy and satisfaction in the losing his life in the king's service, to whom he had always dedicated it, and desired the chancellor (with whom he had always friendship) to recommend his wife and his son (who was born the very day upon which he received his wound at Pendennis castle) to the king's favour, and died the next day, to the great grief of all who knew him. Trevannion was about [the] same age, of 24 or 25 years, the eldest, if not the only son of his father, sir Charles Trevannion, and newly married to the

daughter of Arundel of Trerice. He was a steady young man, of a good understanding, great courage, but of few words, yet what he said was always to the purpose. Both he and Slanning were members of the house of commons, and the more abhorred the rebellion by having been present, and observed by what foul artifices it had been promoted; and as they always gave what opposition they could to those practices whilst they remained there, so they were amongst the first who drew their swords to suppress them. Brutus Buck was an old soldier, having been an officer of very good esteem in the voyage to Rochelle, and in the action at the isle, and ever after lived in a command the king had given him in the Isle of Wight, with the reputation of a civil and a stout gentleman. He was killed in the head of his regiment with a musket bullet in the forehead, when he was getting upon the wall, and fell dead in the graff. He was a man generally beloved, and had no enemies.

- 3 On prince Rupert's side, where the line indeed was very weak and low, but there were two or three high castles of earth, upon which store of cannon was planted with many musketeers, all which infested those who assaulted the line, which was otherwise slenderly guarded, but there was within the line a great space of meadow ground, upon which two or three regiments of horse might be drawn up, who might quickly have broken such foot as should enter the line, the assault here was more prosperous and successful, though with the loss of many, and some very excellent persons. The line was entered in the weakest place, and where it was least guarded; and they who entered it easily made way for some horse to follow them, who quickly made the few horse which were placed within to give ground, and retire into the town, which raised confusion there; and some more of the horse and foot of the prince's likewise entered the line, and leaving those castles behind them, marched directly into the suburbs, where the streets being narrow, many soldiers and officers were killed from the windows and tops of houses, which stopped their advance; and no doubt, if the governor had understood his business well, that party which was entered might very well have been driven back before any other could have come to their assistance. But the confusion within the town was very great, and the apprehension that the army was already entered, and that they should be all made a prey to the soldiers,

if there were no articles made and conditions obtained for them, made the people so clamorous, that the governor yielded to their importunities, and sent a trumpet to the prince to treat upon surrender; which overture was easily accepted, and upon hostages sent, colonel Gerrard, a haughty young man, of a very different temper from col. Fiennes, was sent to treat with him; he, talking loud to the people of firing the town, if they did not forbear shooting out of the windows, which they still continued to do, hectoring the governor himself to such a temper, that he forthwith gave orders to forbear all acts of hostility in all places, which the captains in the castles hardly obeyed, but still continued to shoot, and did much mischief; and then concluded upon the ordinary conditions, to march out of the town the next day with his troops, and to surrender the city to the king; which was done accordingly, to the no small joy of the commanders.

- 4 Of the prince's side there fell that day many good officers, amongst which were colonel Harry Lunsford, and his lieutenant colonel Nathaniel Moyle, both officers of the first rank in their reputation of courage and conduct, and were both killed out of a window when they had entered the suburbs, the former dead upon the place, the other lived near a month, and then died. Colonel John Bellasis had a hurt of a very strange nature, and worth the mentioning. Being a gallant gentleman, of much honour and courage, as he was marching in the head of his regiment of foot, with his sword drawn in his hand, upon which a musket bullet struck the flat of the blade with such force that it bowed like a bow, and remaining still in his hand was driven upon his forehead, that he fell to the ground, but rose presently of himself without help, and seeing no blood he believed the hurt not considerable, and continued in his business; but he found it necessary within less than an hour to be carried off, his head with the contusion for many days swelling to that prodigious proportion, that when the king came to Bristol, and the chancellor of the exchequer went to see him, he knew not who he was, there being no appearance of eyes or nose, so that it was thought trepanning would be the only way to preserve him, and that not a certain one; but he, having his senses very perfect, would not endure so rude a remedy; and after the swelling was at the height, it declined and sunk as fast; and when the army removed from Bristol, was well

enough, and attended his charge in it, without any mark or blemish. The lord viscount Grandison was then likewise wounded with a musket-shot in the leg, of which, though he was carried to Oxford, and thought past danger, he died two months after. He was a very beautiful person, of great virtue and eminent courage, and of manners not to be corrupted. He was a very great loss, when the age stood in need of such examples, and was particularly lamented by the chancellor of the exchequer, with very vehement passion, there being a most entire friendship between them for many years without any intermission.

- 5 The town being thus happily taken, (though the price that was paid for it was grievous,) the old embers of jealousy and discontent, which had been lightly raked up and covered between the two princes and the marquis of Hertford, broke out now into a flame. The town was within the marquis's commission, and so he concluded that the government was in his disposal, and designed it to sir Ralph Hopton, who by this time was past all danger, and in all respects was preferable to any man that could be named. On the other side, prince Rupert believed the right of conferring it to be in him, since it was taken by the forces under his command when those under the marquis were beaten off, and he had a purpose to confer it upon sir Arthur Aston, who had been governor of Reading, and lost much reputation there in respect of his nature and manners, not of his soldiery, which stood as it did before. But when the prince had thought better of his own power, and weighed the difference between sir Ralph Hopton and sir Arthur Aston in the eyes of the world, he changed his purpose, and both the prince and the marquis sending expresses to give the king notice of the success, the prince made it his humble suit to the king that his majesty would bestow the government of Bristol upon his highness; and the marquis, after he had given an account of the taking the town, in which he gave all the attributes to the prince which were due to him, he told the king that he had conferred the government upon sir Ralph Hopton, which he knew his majesty would approve, since no man could be so fit for it, nor had deserved better from his majesty. [*The remainder of this relation is inserted in the Life of Lord Clarendon.*]

3 O.

VII. 176, *last line*, in number to that of the foot.] *The MS. proceeds thus:*

- i On the other side, the parliament had a garrison in Gloucester, the only place possessed by them on the Severn, (for the taking of Bristol had reduced Chepstow, and secured for the most part all South Wales;) and if that were recovered to the king's obedience, his majesty's quarters would extend from Bristol to Chester, and bring all the countries between into contribution and subjection, which was a noble quantity of ground; Wales would be entire at the king's devotion; and his army would receive a very great addition by a body of three thousand men, horse and foot, which were commanded by Vavasour, under the lord Herbert on the Welsh side, to block up Gloucester from annoying that country, and would all march with the king, if that place were recovered; whereas they could not be drawn from thence whilst that garrison remained; and which, as soon as the king was marched from Bristol, would be a thorn in the sides of Gloucestershire and Wales, and would hinder all levies and contributions in those countries, and much hinder the settlement of Bristol itself. Gloucester was at that time under the government of colonel Massey, a soldier of fortune, and a very active and a vigilant officer. He had been sometimes an officer under the command of Will. Leg, who was then major to prince Rupert, and of near trust about him. After the taking of Bristol, he had, with the king's privy, written a letter to him, and received such an answer that was interpreted to give encouragement to the king's army to march thither, and as if the king's presence would have opened the ports of the town; though it appeared afterwards that it was craftily and maliciously written to amuse the king. However, the town itself was no otherwise fortified than by an old high stone wall and a dry ditch, there being likewise a fair and well built suburbs without the town. There did not appear, when the king consulted it at Bristol, any difference of opinion against the king's marching thither with his army; and it was resolved that if he found, when he came there, that a summons would not put the town into his hands, he might march on towards any other design.

² There was likewise another circumstance that favoured this resolution, which was some good success the earl of Newcastle had obtained in Yorkshire, which had broken all the parliament forces, and driven them into Hull, and much increased his own, with which he made little doubt in a short time to be master of that important place. Upon the first news, &c. *as in par.* 177, l. 2.

3 P.

VII. 179, l. 34, and to resolve which of these opinions to follow was another motive for his majesty's sudden journey to Oxford.] *These words are substituted in the MS. for what follows, which is erased:*

The king followed the last opinion; and so they came to Oxford, and were admitted to kiss the queen's hands, and shortly after went to the leaguer before Gloucester, and were in the same manner received by the king: all which I have remembered the more particularly, that it may appear whatsoever was done in that point to have been deliberated; yet truly I conceive it was one of the greatest, if not the only omission on the king's part of any expedient, during the whole distractions, which might reasonably have been depended on, to promote or contribute towards a fair accommodation, upon which we shall have occasion anon to say more.

3 Q.

VII. 200, l. 32, consequences of it, with new instances.] *Thus continued in the MS. of the Life:*

The king left Bristol in the resolution and expectation formerly mentioned; and when he came near Gloucester, he sent a summons to the governor, and drew up his army in the view of the town from a reasonable ascent; and after he had expected an answer some hours, one of the citizens of the town, of a very ill aspect and rude behaviour, came to the king with the answer from the mayor and aldermen, as well as from the governor, and signed by them all, which the messenger would read in a loud unmannerly voice. It did not only contain a refusal to deliver the place, and a declaration that they did and would keep [it] for the parliament, but had such reproachful expressions in it, that together with the sauciness of the messenger, as exceedingly incensed the king; and the messenger was no sooner

returned, but they gave another evidence of their resolution, by setting all the suburbs, in which there was a fair street and many good houses, on a fire together. Though the king had resolved before not to be engaged in the siege of this city, and he received new instances from the queen and intelligence from London of the extraordinary distractions there, to confirm him in that resolution, and many members of both houses had left the parliament, whereof some came to Oxford, (who shall be mentioned anon,) and all sent word, that if the king now marched towards London, the city itself would compel the parliament to make a peace; but these unmannerly and insolent provocations from the town persuaded him that he was bound in honour speedily to chastise it. Upon the drawing up his army, he found it much weaker than he thought it to have been. The gentlemen of the Gloucestershire and of the Welsh side of the Severn came to him, and made great professions how soon they would recruit his army if he would remain some time there; that the town would be taken in few days, and whilst he was taking it his army should be increased every day, whereas, if he marched presently away, besides the dishonour of it, he would not be able to carry away with him one man more than he had brought thither, which would appear a very small body to shew to the city of London for their encouragement to join with him. But that which made most impression was, that the express was now returned from the earl of Newcastle, who informed his majesty that it was impossible for him to comply with his commands and expectation in marching with his army into the associated counties, for that the gentlemen of the country who had the best regiments, and were amongst the best officers, utterly refused to march except Hull were first taken, and that he had not strength enough to march with any considerable body and to leave Hull securely blocked up; which resolution made it, in the judgment of the king and of most of the officers, necessary for the king to engage in the siege of that town; and thereupon he sent for the general, who remained yet at Oxford, to attend him at Gloucester, with his greatest cannon, and such foot as could be spared out of Oxford; and thereupon he committed the care of one approach, which was resolved upon, to the general, and another, which likewise was thought necessary, to another part of the town,

to sir Jacob Ashley, the major general of the foot, who best understood that kind of service, and so disposed the whole army formally to the siege, his majesty himself quartering in a village about two miles distant from the city: and in this posture that affair stood when the chancellor came to the king from Bristol. And at last, &c. (*as in par. 200, line 32, to the end of the paragraph, where the MS. thus proceeds*) the king told the chancellor that it was necessary he should make haste to Oxford, where he would find the lords in great disorder for his having engaged the army before Gloucester, but more upon the news of the earl of Holland and the earl of Bedford being coming to Oxford; that they were already come to Wallingford, where the governor, col. Blague, had civilly detained them till he might understand the king's pleasure, who seemed to be in some trouble and irresolution in what manner to receive them. The chancellor stayed not above two hours with the king, but though it was late, went to a gentleman's house five or six miles from thence, and, after some hours sleep, made haste the next morning to Oxford; where before night the king likewise arrived, of which he had no thought when the chancellor came away; but received that night some letter from the queen, which made him believe that journey necessary, bringing a small train with him; and after one day's stay he returned to the siege, where his presence was in many respects very necessary.

3 R.

VII. 264, *last line*, these things were transacted.] *Here follows in the MS. of the History,*

- I There was not the same union and concurrence in the king's quarters. As soon as the king came to Oxford, instead of any man's contributing his advice and assistance for what was next to be done, every man took great freedom in censuring what was past. Many cried out upon the sitting down before Gloucester, not only as a very unskilful act, but perfidiously designed by those who wished not that the king's affairs should prosper, and were corrupted by the parliament; and this clamour was improved by the discourses of those who had left them after the loss of Bristol, and reported that the prime leaders and governors in both houses then declared that all their hope was that the king would be persuaded to engage before Gloucester,

which if he should not do, and marched directly towards London, they were undone ; and that out of the apprehension of such a resolution in the king, that many of the principal and most obnoxious members and citizens, who had been most active, had shipped their estates for Holland, and kept vessels ready for their own transportation. But as the first was a calumny without the least ground and colour, there being then no person of credit with the king in his counsels who was not of unblemished integrity to his cause, so the other fancy of marching towards London was much more unreasonable than the course which was taken. For besides that the king's army was exceeding small (I speak of the body of his foot) when he marched from Bristol, though it increased wonderfully before Gloucester, it cannot be imagined, if the earl of Essex was able to draw out the train-bands and auxiliaries of London (which was the strength of his army) to march as far as Gloucester, he would have engaged a far greater body of them to have met the king nearer London. Indeed if after the taking of Bristol the king had marched into Hampshire, and so advanced through Sussex (which stood generally well inclined to his service) into Kent, where there were about that time some commotions and insurrections of the people, which, being seconded and formed, might have grown very terrible to the parliament, and without any countenance from the king gave them some trouble, and were not dispersed without blood ; and at the same time, if the marquis of Newcastle, (for the king had now conferred that dignity upon him,) who had then totally defeated the lord Fairfax and driven him into Hull, which was the only shelter the enemy had in that large, rich, populous county, had advanced with his full power into the associated counties, through Lincolnshire into Norfolk, where the people had suffered long and grievously under the parliament, and had now taken so much courage, that the town of Lynn, a port and harbour strongly situated, by the virtue of the inhabitants especially, and encouragement of some gentlemen of the county retired thither, shut their gates against the earl of Manchester, and endured near a month's siege ; it might very much have troubled the parliament to have divided their strength into two armies, and the distempers within the city of London would probably have produced some confusion, when it should have

been manifest that that city was to provide out of itself two armies to send out, and power enough for its own security and defence. But since the unhappy temper of the north was such, that it was rather thought to carry that victorious and flourishing army before the walls of Hull than to make a progress southward, where probably it would not have met a resistance it could not remove, I am still of the opinion, that the king's sitting down before Gloucester (however it succeeded) was the next best, and in reason to be preferred far before marching towards London, or going nearer London upon its single confidence. And no doubt, according to the fate in war, where whatsoever proves unfortunate in the execution is concluded to be improvident in the counsel, if the enterprise upon Bristol (which was in reason more likely to have miscarried than the other afterwards was upon Gloucester) had not succeeded, that counsel (which upon the event was generally applauded) would have been as severely censured, and it would have been then thought, (and it may be upon as much reason,) that upon the defeat of Waller, when the body of Cornish foot was unfoiled, and the king's forces received so great an addition by the access of that guard which attended the queen out of the north, was the time to have found out the earl of Essex's broken and dismayed army, and to have followed them to the walls of London, with messages of grace and favour to the city, and overtures of pardon to the houses, and that the winning of Bristol was not to be put into the scale against the other opportunity.

- ² Others, who approved, or at least thought the engaging before Gloucester was not uncounsellable, were as censorious of the conduct afterwards, that a body of seven thousand horse (for at that time the king's army consisted of no less) should suffer the earl of Essex to march four days together over the fairest campaign in England without disturbance, and that the whole army should not give him battle before he descended the hill into Gloucester; that it had been easy, by the advantage of the situation, and so many horse as might have been spared for that purpose, to have kept the besieged within their walls, and to have fought upon great advantage even before the town; that after the city was relieved, the earl's marching twenty miles on his journey towards London, before it was known what was be-

come of him, argued most supine negligence in some officers, and that after the enemy was overtaken, and prevented at Newbury upon so great advantage, the beginning the battle without order, and against the resolution in council, (for which no man was ever afterwards called in question,) was never heard of before in a regular army; and there wanted not some who accused even eminent commanders of want of courage as well as conduct in that day's service, and that by such lachity [*lachetè*] an opportunity or two was lost, which being pursued had made the day very glorious to the king, with a great, if not full defeat of the enemy. Which aspersions may be presumed to proceed from the melancholy of the loss, and the licence that all men take to censure after such misfortunes, imagining the liberty of discourse to be a kind of justice where the damage and mischief is universal. Yet it cannot be denied that the spirit and mettle and courage of gallant men is not still the same, many being much more daring and cheerful at some times in enterprises of great hazard and apparent danger, than at other times in matters of less difficulty though of equal concernment; and we often see men very sprightly and vigorously enter upon sharp encounters, and when they find more resistance and opposition than they expected, they grow suddenly weary, and even dismayed, because the enemy is not. Our experience has shewn us many examples of those who have had extraordinary fame of courage in duels, and have gone with a kind of delight always upon such contentions, and yet have been so fearful to walk amongst bullets or within the danger of them, that they have avoided it with great reproach and scandal when their duty obliged them not to retire or to be absent. On the contrary, others who would enter a breach, or stand in one with a disdain of all shot, have been very hardly drawn (not by any reluctance of conscience) to an emulous contestation with a sword, and when they have entered into it have behaved themselves marvellous untowardly by the strength and power of their fear. Again, we have known many very worthy men, (and it may be in the first form of gallantry,) who on a sudden surprise of danger unexpected have confessed great confusion in their countenance and whole demeanour, but upon second thoughts and recollection, or upon a foresight of peril, have composed themselves to a steadiness of temper and resolution which no dis-

advantage hath been able to amate or disturb; and on the other side, many who have been quick and undaunted upon exigents and sudden violent alarums, and upon the prospect and continuance of the hazard have shrunk below a manly boldness. Lastly, there want not examples of many, who, beyond that degree of their age in which the blood is warmest and most inclined to adventures, have lain under the just imputation of not daring, even to an irresistance of injuries, and yet, being once engaged, and acquainted with the face and custom of danger, have proved hardy and forward to wonder, and, like butchers in a fence-school, with their rude fury, have discountenanced and discomposed the cunning, skill, and resolution of any adversary; and we have been told of others, who, having been nursed up in war, and eaten the bread only of purchase and adventures for the first part of their lives, before their meridian, have declined to so dull an appetite of danger as if they had not the same souls. Which may persuade us rather that courage is not the thing we take it to be than that there are several species and kinds of it, and that all bold actions and incursions into danger proceed not from that excellent habit and fearlessness of the mind which is truly and properly called courage, but from a want of science and comprehension of the danger a man seems to despise. He that is ready at all hours, and upon all unnecessary occasions, to enter the field in a duel, it may be, wholly depends upon his own skill and the unskilfulness of his adversary, and, though he hath subdued his conscience to a carelessness of shedding of blood and committing a murder, hath not the least apprehension of losing his own [life], or of danger in the enterprise; and where there is no apprehension of danger there is no present exercise of courage; and it may be, many who stoutly advance upon a breach may not have a sense of the hazard they undergo, but, keeping their old motion they are used to, consider that there are so many more to be hit besides themselves, that there is reason enough to believe they may escape, or, possibly, there may be visibly more danger in running away than in doing one's duty; and then there goes not much courage to the election. And if these and such like fancies and imaginations, and other vain passions and affections, had not a great place and force in our most hazardous and desperate

undertakings, but that it was a real contempt of death (which true courage presupposes) that carried us on, it were not possible that the approach or threatening of that death which we seem to invite, in a hurt or a wound, possibly a very easy, slight one, the sight of our own blood, could so much confound the present faculties of the mind, that we are more afraid of death than we were before of disgrace. I speak not of the discomfort and agony and compunction which the weakness upon wounds and effusion of blood and spirits, and the influence of conscience, and sober, pious, and recollected thoughts, may bring upon a man, with the sense of the ill he hath done, but of those (as many such there are) who, in the instant of a hurt, in their full vigour, before the blood or spirits have made any other impression upon their strength than the feeling they are hurt, have lost the delight in what they had done, and the will to do more, and have been full of those fears afterwards which they appeared to have been so much without before. Neither could that man, who without remorse had slain so many men, probably so many friends, in duels, if he had ever seriously thought of meeting death there, with such abominable paleness and trepidation entertain it when he is presented to it by the hand of justice as a malefactor; for the results of conscience and repentance settle and confirm the courage to suffer bravely what is either just or unavoidable, not distract and enfeeble it; but all that ugly terror proceeds from the presence of death, which he always feared, and could not now avoid. That courage therefore is the best which is most opposite to fear; and as fear is nothing else (if you will believe Solomon) but a betraying of the succours which reason offers, so courage is nothing else but such a temper and healthy constitution of mind as keeps the supplies of reason always ready, and does all things without fear, and leaves nothing undone for fear which reason dictates to be his duty; and he that fears to meet death where he should not be, and dares do his duty against any hazards, will give the best argument of courage, and meet death in a better posture than they who pretend to seek him in a noise and vapour of bold and unnecessary undertakings.

3 S.

VII. 308, l. 1—7. The return &c.] *Originally thus in the MS.:*

I must not here forget one accident, which no doubt (how much soever neglected then) contributed exceedingly to the union at London; the return of the earl of Holland to the parliament. After his first coming to Oxford, when he had kissed the king and queen's hands, he and the other two lords, who came together, the earl of Bedford and the earl of Clare, attended the king in the army, and at the battle of Newbury charged with prince Rupert in his troop. When the king retired to Oxford, the earl of Holland applied himself to both their majesties, and had a fair reception and admission to speak with the king in private when he desired. Whether he had received any private invitation and promise of being restored to the place he formerly had in their majesties' favours, and his old condition in court, I know not; but after a short stay in and about Oxford, and when he found the eyes of the court moved not towards him as they had done, though the queen was gracious to him, and the king always content to hear what he would say, and when he saw his place &c. *as in par.* 308, l. 7.

3 T.

VII. 312, *last line*, those conversions.] *The MS. proceeds:*

The earl of Northumberland was now returned to London from his house at Petworth in Sussex, (where he had resided from the time the other lords left the house till after the battle of Newbury, in expectation of overtures from Oxford,) and incorporated again into their counsels, and they who had before been very solicitous for peace laid aside all thoughts towards it.

The lords &c. *as in par.* 313, l. 1.

3 U.

VII. 324, l. 2, the earl of Leicester.] *The MS. continues:*

The earl of Leicester was in Oxford, and had been once in council when the letter was consulted; and when the clerk of the council carried it (according to his office) to him to be signed, he wished him to leave it there for his perusal, and he would consider of it; and the next day calling to him again,

he gave the same answer, that he would farther consider of it. Whereupon it was whispered in the court, that he would not put his hand to it, which they who loved him not (which were very many of the lords) were glad of, and the more, because the king had it in his purpose to give him some preferment in lieu of the lieutenantship of Ireland, which he thought fit at that time to take from him, and had conferred it upon the marquis of Ormond, who had the command of the army in that kingdom. The chancellor of the exchequer had much kindness for the earl of Leicester, and went to him, and took notice of what was reported about the court, and desired him not to give those who had an evil eye towards him so great an advantage to do him hurt as his refusal to sign this letter, and so declaring himself to be of a different judgment, if not different affection, from all the counsellors, and all the peers who followed the king, would do; that he had some reason to believe that both the king and the queen had at present some gracious intentions towards him, which he would make himself incapable of by such an unseasonable contradiction. The reasons he gave why he had forborne to sign it (for he had not yet refused) were not equal to his own reason, which, when uncorrupted by his passion, was very good: that he had been only once present when the design of that letter was consulted, but had not been present when the letter itself was brought to the board, (which he might and ought to have been,) nor had ever seen it till it was brought to him to be signed; that there were some matters of fact mentioned in it, which, though he believed, he did not know to be true; and some such other exceptions as were too weak to puzzle his understanding; so that the chancellor did believe what he wished, that he would have signed it; but whether he had not yet digested &c. *as in par.* 324, l. 3.

3 X.

VII. 368, *last line*, if the other were not ready to advance.]
Here follows in the MS. :

- x These conclusions being made with reference to Ireland, the king's first care was (if possible) to prevent the storm from Scotland, presuming, that if the parliament were disappointed of that aid, they would consent to such a peace as might be honourable and safe for him. There were many persons of

honour of that kingdom who professed entire submission and devotion to his majesty, and who I believe really were not inclined to that faction which his majesty apprehended. All these were directed privately to be advised and disposed by the marquis of Hamilton, (whom the king had newly raised to the dignity of a duke,) who had solemnly promised his majesty either by his interest in the councils to prevent the resolution to invade England, or by his power, and the assistance of his party there, to resist it; and therefore all those lords and persons of honour, whom the king relied upon, were directed to be entirely guided by him, all that the king desired from his subjects of that his native kingdom being, that they would not rebel. It is very true, many did then wonder that the king would repose so great a trust in the duke, who had at that time the misfortune not to be heartily confided in by his party of either kingdom; for he had had that rare dexterity, from a person the most avowedly odious to Scotland, and the most undoubtedly obnoxious to the justice of England, not only to wind himself out of those labyrinths in which he was thought to be entangled, but into the good opinion and favour of the parliament, and into the full confidence of his own nation, which unusual fortune always is attended by suspicion and jealousy. Notwithstanding all which, the king could not reasonably avoid the giving him at that time this credit. He was by much, in alliance and dependents, the most powerful man in that kingdom, and so, if he were willing, was unquestionably able to give life and head to any party that should stoutly declare for the king, which no other man in Scotland, how well affected soever, was able to do: for though wary and reserved men might live there, and enjoy their liberty and estates, yet all persons who expressed a public dislike of what they did, found no safety amongst them; and therefore the earl of Mountrose, and some other noblemen, had been forced to fly out of the kingdom, and were now in the king's armies; for which, before any public declaration in Scotland against the king, they were there proclaimed traitors, and all their estates seized on and confiscated. Besides, the king did really believe that all the artifice the duke had used had been only for his own preservation, without diminution of his affection and duty to him, and that when he could no longer be free from engagement in the

war, he would sooner be engaged for him than against him. However, as was said before, there was no other man competent for that trust, and it was much better to oblige him by a confidence than to incense him by prejudice, and himself was very cheerful in undertaking to stop any such enterprise, and continued the same assurance by his frequent letters to his majesty. When the convention of estates was summoned, being their parliament, expressly against the king's consent, and without any colour of warrant from their own laws, the lords who depended upon his direction came to him to resolve what was to be done by them, alleging they thought it not justifiable in themselves, and very dishonourable to the king, that they should be present at that meeting, which being convened against order, they might easily conclude would proceed as irregularly. The duke told them it was the king's pleasure that he and they should be all present at the convention, and that it was possible they might be there able to divert the violence that was feared; if they could not, he would make such a declaration, if they would join with him, that should manifest what their opinions were: and by this means they were all, contrary to their own judgments, drawn to sit with, and consequently to countenance, those who were already declared against the king. It is very true that the king had given his consent that they should all go to the convention; for the duke writ him word, that it was their unanimous opinion that it would very much conduce to his service that they should all appear there; that they believed they should be able to make so strong a party as to cross any solemn act that should reflect upon the public peace, his majesty's honour, or interest: if they could not, having so much reason and justice on their side, then would be the time to enter their protestation against what they could not remedy; and from thence would be the proper rise to engage a party in the kingdom.

- ² Upon this instance, the king returned his approbation that they should not absent themselves. After the convention was begun, it was quickly evident, by their high speeches against the king, and their declared resolutions to invade England, what was to be expected, so that the rest looked when the duke would protest. In a dispute one day, the duke was so sharp in his expressions, as if he would protest, that some of the lords of the

other party called upon him in an angry manner to explain himself, whether he meant to protest against their protestings. Whereupon the earl of Lanrick, brother to the duke, and secretary of estate of that kingdom, upon whose judgment and fidelity the king no less relied than upon the duke, stood up and said, that noble lord (the duke) understood himself too well, and the high jurisdiction of that court where they were, to protest against the wisdom of the whole kingdom, and besought their lordships to have a more favourable opinion of him ; to which the duke by his silence consented : and so there was [were] no more replies upon the matter. Upon which the other lords, seeing what they looked for and was promised, not only not done, but upon the matter a judgment declared by him upon whom the king relied, that it was not to be done, by degrees withdrew to their houses, and shortly after a proclamation was issued out in the king's own name, relating the great danger his person was in by the power of the popish and prelatical party in England, and requiring all his subjects of that his native kingdom, from the age of threescore to sixteen, to appear at a day appointed with their arms, when they should be disposed in such manner as was necessary for his relief and rescue (which is the way used in that kingdom suddenly to form an army). And to this declaration and proclamation the earl of Lanrick affixed his majesty's own signet, so that no question very many men of the inferior condition (which may justly remove the brand of infidelity and defection from the nation) did really believe they were summoned by the king himself for his defence and redemption out of distress. Shortly after, the covenant was returned out of England with a full approbation, both houses having taken it, and enjoined it through the kingdom. Thereupon the lords of the secret council, and those committees which were appointed to manage the affairs, ordered, that whosoever refused to take the covenant should be proceeded against as an enemy to both kingdoms, and his estate be sequestered, and disposed to the use of the public ; the assembly likewise of their kirk pronouncing solemn excommunications against them. Then the duke Hamilton, earl of Lanrick, and all the other lords and persons of quality, who would be thought to be of the king's party, made haste out of Scotland, and not one of them being stayed, though they came with their full equipage,

they repaired to the king at Oxford. All discharged themselves of blame, by having no authority of themselves without being directed by the duke, who was so far from quickening them to appear, that when they offered and pressed him that they might draw together, and some of them offered to bring with them one hundred horse, and that they might take the opportunity of a solemn funeral, which was to be solemnized in that kingdom for an honourable lady, at which times great resort uses to be of all the friends and allies of that family, his grace utterly dissuaded them and absolutely refused to join with them. This and other instances of his wariness was alleged with great temper and sobriety by those who desired only to appear innocent themselves, not to charge the duke with failing in his duty. But there were others, to wit, the earls of Crawford and Mountrose, the lords Auboyn, Ogleby, Needsdale, and Makey, who barefaced, and in plain English, accused the duke of treason and disloyalty to the king from the beginning; that he had in the first stirrs within that kingdom betrayed the trust reposed in him by his majesty, combined with those who invaded the kingdom, and pretended ever since to be for his majesty; and made those late great promises and undertakings only that he might engross his majesty's confidence to himself, and thereby keep it out of the power of any other persons to do that service, and to hinder the pernicious designs which were against the king and kingdom. Many charges they gave in against him, in writing, of words spoken, and things done, some of ancient date, others of a later, in great derogation of his majesty's honour and service; and they made oath of the truth of their suggestions, which were indeed of a high nature, and against which the best that could be said was, that they were all his avowed enemies. That which appeared to his majesty to be capable of no excuse was, the betraying him in the case of going to the convention, under pretence that it was the unanimous advice of the lords, when they were in truth unanimously against it; and the earl of Lanrick's setting the signet to that proclamation; which he denied not, alleging, that he was required so to do by the major part of the council, to which he was to submit; and that if he had refused it, the signet would have been taken from him, together with his liberty, so that the same mischief would have

accrued to the king, and he should not have been able to escape, to do him service. It may be, it wrought somewhat upon his majesty, that the earl of Mountrose, and those lords whose fortunes were most desperate in Scotland, for adhering to him, undertook yet to give some turn to the torrent of that kingdom, and if they could not be diverted from invading England, to kindle the beacons in their own country, by which they should be recalled to quench the fire in their own houses, provided that it might not be in duke Hamilton's power to frustrate their designs. Upon the whole matter, as soon as the duke and his brother came to Oxford, the king sent them word that they should keep their chambers, and shortly after sent the duke with a guard of horse to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis castle in Cornwall, to be there detained in custody as a close prisoner, with all fit and necessary accommodation. The earl of Lanrick, within few days after the removal of his brother, found means, by the assistance of another Scotchman, a sworn servant to the king, to make an escape, and so he got to London, where he was received with such acceptance and joy, as if he had not fled from Scotland out of any notable animosity to their party.

- 3 The king directed the lords of his council to consider what was fit to be farther done by him in order to the stopping this inundation, which he was now satisfied was breaking in from Scotland, though the season of the year (the winter being now approached) was thought to be of force enough to keep them for some time from putting their purposes in execution. The lords, albeit they were not forward to conclude that that people always obeyed the dictates of reason and justice and conscience, thought the discourse of an invasion from thence was so distant from all the rules of policy and prudence, and even those obligations in the late treaty ratified in this present parliament, by which they had so many concessions that they would not cancel what was due to them by making a forfeiture of their part, and that they might have no excuse to believe the two houses of parliament on the behalf of the kingdom were willing to receive them, they desired his majesty to give all his peers leave to write a letter to the lords of the secret council, and the conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms, to disavow and protest against any such desire, that so, when they

considered that there were not above twenty peers privy to their counsels at Westminster, or engaged in their party, (for there were only the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bolingbroke, the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochford, and Roberts, who were present, or had proxies there,) and saw the number and names of those who abominated those combinations, they might easily conclude how unacceptable their company would be to the kingdom. The king willingly approved of their advice, and so, about the end of November, they caused this letter to be sent by an express into Scotland, thus directed :

“ To the lords of the privy council, and the conservators of the peace of the kingdom of Scotland.

- 4 “ Our very good lords. If for no other reason, yet that posterity may know we have done our duties, and not sat still, while our brethren of Scotland were transported with a dangerous and fatal misunderstanding, that the resolution now taken amongst them for an expedition into England is agreeable to their obligation by the late treaty, and to the wishes and desires of this kingdom, expressed by the two houses of parliament, we have thought it necessary to let your lordships know, that if we had dissented from that act, it could never have been made a law ; and when you have examined and considered the names of us who subscribe this letter, (who we hope are too well known to your lordships, and to both kingdoms, to be suspected to want affection to religion, or to the laws and liberties of our country, for the defence and maintenance of which we shall always hold our lives a cheap sacrifice,) and when you are informed that the earls of Arundel and Thanet, and the lords Stafford, Stanhope, Coventry, Goring, and Craven, are in the parts beyond the seas, and the earl of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, and the lord Montague of Boughton, under restraint at London, for their loyalty and duty to his majesty and the kingdom, your lordships will easily conclude how very few now make up the peers at Westminster, there being in truth not above twenty-five lords present or privy to those councils, or, being absent, consenting or concurring with them : whereas the house of peers consists of above one hundred, besides minors and recusant lords, neither of which keep us company in this address to your lord-

ships. How we and the major part of the house of commons come to be absent from thence is so notorious to all the world, that we believe your lordships cannot be strangers to it; how, several times during our sitting there, multitudes of the meanest sort or people, with weapons not agreeing with their condition or custom, in a manner very contrary and destructive to the privilege of parliament, filled up the way between both houses, offering injuries both by words and actions too, and laying violent hands upon several members, crying out many hours together against the established laws in a most tumultuous and menacing way; how no remedy would be submitted to for preventing those tumults; after which, and other unlawful and unparliamentary actions, many things rejected and settled, upon solemn debate in the house of peers, were again, after many threats and menaces, resumed, altered, and determined, contrary to the custom and laws of parliaments; and so many of us withdrew ourselves from thence, where we could not sit, speak, and vote with honour, freedom, and safety, and are now kept from thence for our duty and loyalty to our sovereign. And we must therefore protest against any invitation which hath been made to our brethren of Scotland to enter this kingdom with an army, the same being as much against their desires as against the duty of the lords and commons of England. And we do conjure your lordships, by our common allegiance and subjection under our gracious sovereign, by the amity and affection between the two nations, by the treaty of pacification, which by any such act is absolutely dissolved, and by all obligations both divine and human, which can preserve peace upon earth, to use your uttermost endeavours to prevent the effusion of so much Christian blood, and the confusion and desolation which must follow the unjust invasion of this kingdom, which we and, we are confident, all true Englishmen must interpret as a design of conquest, and to impose new laws upon us. And therefore your lordships may be assured we shall not so far forget our own interests, and the honour of our nation, as not to expose our lives and fortunes in the just and necessary defence of the kingdom. But if your lordships in truth have any doubts or apprehensions that there now is, or hereafter may be, a purpose to infringe your laws or liberties from any attempt of this kingdom, we do engage our honour to your lordships to be ourselves most religious observers of the act of pacification; and if the breach and violation do not first begin within that kingdom, we are most confident you shall never have cause to complain of this. And having thus far expressed ourselves to your lordships, we hope to receive such an

answer from you as may be a means to preserve a right understanding between the two nations, and lay an obligation upon us to continue

5 “ Your lordships’ most affectionate humble servants,

“ Ed. Littleton, C. S.	V. Savile.
L. Cottington.	L. Mowbray and Maltravers.
D. Richmond.	L. Darcy and Coniers.
M. Hertford.	L. Wentworth.
M. Newcastle.	L. Cromwell.
E. Huntingdon.	L. Rich.
E. Bathon.	L. Paget.
E. Southampton.	L. Digby.
E. Dorset.	L. Howard of Charleton.
E. Northampton.	L. Deincourt.
E. Devonshire.	L. Lovelace.
E. Bristol.	L. Paulet.
E. Berkshire.	L. Mohun.
E. Cleveland.	L. Dunsmore.
E. Marlborough.	L. Seymour.
E. Rivers.	L. Herbert.
E. Linsey.	L. Cobham.
E. Dover.	L. Capel.
E. Peterborough.	L. Percy.
E. Kingston.	L. Leigh.
E. Newport.	L. Hatton.
E. Portland.	L. Hopton.
E. Carbery.	L. Jermyn.
V. Conway.	L. Loughborough.
V. Falconbridge.	L. Byron.
V. Wilmot.	L. Withrington.”

6 Whether this clear demonstration would make any impression upon the Scotch nation and counsels or no, the king and all men believed it would have a very useful influence upon the affections and hearts of the people of England, and that they would awake out of those dreams and jealousies which had perplexed their understandings, and, in the behalf of the honour and interest of their country, be united against the invasion of a foreign power; and in this respect many were of opinion, who too abstractly considered rather what should be than what was like to be, that not only the fame of, but the real marching of

the Scots, would much impair the strength and reputation of the parliament. To inculcate this sense throughout the kingdom, the king very prudently resolved of another useful expedient. Though all inquisitive and discerning men well understood the number and the quality of those few who remained in both houses of parliament at Westminster, by the reverence to whose authority all the contest was made and supported against the king, yet the common people generally believed they had the full numbers, and that there was unity and consent in that body to defend the just liberties and rights of the public; at least the number and condition of those who were absent, or their affections, were not evident enough to be taken notice of; therefore the king thought it worthy of his care to draw all those who were the true and regular members of parliament together to Oxford, and to make use of their advice and counsel, since he could neither receive it, nor they give it, in the place whither they were at first summoned by his writ, presuming, that, when the kingdom should know that four parts of five of the house of peers, and above a major part of the house of commons, were at Oxford with the king, they would not look upon those at Westminster as the true and full representative body of the whole; and to that purpose he issued out his royal proclamation, declaring the preparations made in Scotland to enter and invade the kingdom, and that they had already actually invaded it, by possessing themselves by force of arms of his town of Berwick, (for thither they sent a garrison as soon as the covenant was agreed,) upon pretence that they were invited thereunto by the desires of both houses of parliament; the which, as he doubted not all his good subjects of the kingdom would look upon as the most insolent act of ingratitude and disloyalty, and to the apparent breach of the late act of pacification so solemnly made between the kingdoms, and was indeed no other than a design of conquest, and to impose new laws upon this nation, they not so much as pretending the least provocation or violation from this kingdom, so his majesty was most assured that the major part of both houses of parliament did from their souls abhor the least thought of introducing that foreign power, to increase and make desperate the miseries of their unhappy country. And therefore, that it might appear to all the world how far the major part of both houses was from such actions of treason and disloyalty,

and how grossly those few members remaining at Westminster had and did impose upon his people, his majesty required such of the members of both houses, as well those who had been by the faction of the malignant party expelled for performing their duty to his majesty, and into whose rooms no persons had been since chosen by their country, as the rest who had been driven thence, and all those who, being conscious of their want of freedom, should be now willing to withdraw from that rebellious city, to assemble themselves together at Oxford on Monday the two and twentieth day of January ; and all his subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice for the preservation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as lay in his majesty, to restore it to its former peace and security, from those whom they had trusted. And for the better encouragement of those members of either house to resort to him, who might be justly conscious to themselves of having incurred his displeasure, by submitting to or concurring in unlawful actions, and that all the world might see how willing and desirous he was to forget the injuries and indignities offered to his majesty, and, by an union of English hearts, to prevent the lasting miseries which this foreign invasion must bring upon the kingdom, his majesty offered a free and general pardon to all the members of either house who should at or before the said twenty-second day of January appear at Oxford, and desire the same, without exceptions ; which, considering the manifest treasons committed against his majesty, and the condition he was now in, improved, by God's wonderful blessing, to a better degree than he had enjoyed at any time since these distractions, was the greatest instance of princely and fatherly care of his people that could be expressed, and which malice itself could not suggest to proceed from any other ground. And therefore he said, he hoped and was confident, that all such who, upon this his gracious invitation, would not return to their duty and allegiance, should be no more thought promoters of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom, (which this way might be, no doubt, settled and secured,) but persons engaged from the beginning, out of their own pride, malice, and ambition, to bring confusion and desolation upon their country ; and to that purpose, having long since contrived the design, had invited and joined with a foreign nation to ruin and extinguish their own.

What the good fruit was, which was produced by this counsel and proclamation, will be shortly set forth.

- 7 There was about the same time another act of council, which (how impertinent soever it may seem to some men to be remembered) was in itself of great weight, and very gravely deliberated. It seemed very repugnant to the rules of policy, that, when all overtures of peace were rejected, and all intercourse from the city of London inhibited and interdicted to his majesty's quarters, there should be any permission that that city should be supplied by the commodities and stock of the counties within the king's obedience, which kept up the trade of that rebellious place, and gave it the pride to contest almost with the whole kingdom: and therefore it was propounded, that his majesty would inhibit and forbid by his proclamation all manner of trade with London throughout his quarters; and that all goods and merchandise going to or from that place, without the king's express license, should be seized on, and forfeited to his own use. The matter was not lightly weighed and concluded, but several days debated before the lords of the council, there being diversity of opinion between many persons of great experience and understanding in the mystery and course of trade, and in the constitution of the counties, whence trade was especially driven with London. Many were of opinion, that his majesty should by no means prohibit it or interrupt it, that the continuance and improvement of it would be of great profit and advantage to the king; besides that the restraint would appear a very ungracious thing to the people; whereas now that whole odium lay upon the parliament; that those who were fled from London, out of their duty and loyalty, had no other means to draw a subsistence and livelihood to them out of the fortunes they had left there, but by commodities sent from London into the king's quarters, for which they received money there, and that by that means many well affected persons, still remaining there, sometimes sent supplies to his majesty, which otherwise they would not be able to do; that it supplied the king's quarters with money, whereby the people were enabled to pay their contributions, which otherwise they could not do; and if trade were restrained, the manufactures would immediately be determined, and thereupon the people, in all parts, for want of work, would be in danger to starve; the consequence of which extremity might produce a

general insurrection, which would be very perilous to the king ; at best, that the manufactures would be transported into foreign parts, a mischief not to be repaired again by peace itself. On the other side it was pressed with much vehemence, that such an inhibition of trade was absolutely necessary ; that the king could lose nothing by it, and would receive notable benefit ; that the rebellion was continued, as it had been raised, by the wealth and submission only of the city of London, and any thing that could impair that wealth would remove that submission ; that they alone hitherto felt not the miseries of the war, having the same ease and the same plenty which they had formerly enjoyed, which reconciled them, and united them more to the parliament than any inclination of their affections ; whereas, if the trade from thence into foreign parts was suppressed, or to a degree diminished, by not suffering them to receive those commodities from the counties by which they carried on their trade, they would immediately find themselves impoverished ; and the rich men giving over, the poor would not be able to live, and so their patience would quickly leave them, and they would easily discover the way to their redemption. In the mean time the manufactures would receive no discouragement, nor the counties feel any want of money ; for the same trade which was by those commodities carried to London, should be driven in those parts under the king's obedience, of Bristol, Weymouth, Exeter, Dartmouth, and the good harbours of Cornwall, whither as well those well affected merchants who were driven from London, as strangers, would resort, whereby they would be replenished with money, and all other commodities of what kind soever ; for an evidence whereof many merchants present, of great estates and reputation, undertook before the king, that they would within a month take off all the manufacture of wool which should be brought to any of the western ports, whither the clothiers might as easily send them as to London. By this means shipping would much increase, and seamen be maintained in the king's quarters, from whence extraordinary benefit would accrue to his service. The reasons were very weighty upon both sides ; and though these later seemed the stronger, yet it was plain that they were principally grounded upon supposition. For if it should fall out that there was not stock enough to take off the commodities in

the king's quarters, as men reasonably conceived there would not be, at least not in time, the mischiefs which were offered in the first debate would be in view. But there were two things which prevailed over the king's judgment, and truly reconciled most differences in opinion. The first, a matter of fact: Some clothiers of Reading complained that they had received invitations from their old customers in London to continue their trade thither, assuring them they should receive the same fair correspondence they had formerly; upon which, with the king's leave, they had sent great quantities of cloth thither, which, in respect of the situation of that town, and the benefit of the river, they could not conveniently send to any other place. The effect was, they sold their cloths at Leadenhall as they used, and at good prices; the which was no sooner done, but the money due to all such of whose affections to the king's service they had any intimation was seized, as the estates of delinquents and malignants, for the use of the parliament, and they only who were favoured by them, as inclined to their party, were suffered to receive the proceed of their commodities. Upon which that town desired other provision might be made to take off their cloths, and that there might be no trade to London. The other consideration was, that if any inconvenience should be hereafter discovered by the restraint, it might be removed by the giving licences to trade, by which his majesty might be able to settle and regulate trade in such a manner that it might be profitable to him, and that he might receive such duties upon it as might be some supply to him, as it paid excise and customs at London, whereby the merchants there should not be able to undersell those who traded in the west, who for their transportation and insurance were at a much greater charge than the other. Upon these reasons the king published his express and absolute pleasure against all trade with London, which if it had been as well executed as it was deliberated would without question have proved of singular benefit and advantage to his affairs; but the disorder of the soldier was such, and so great a contempt of all acts of state, that it had not the effect designed, and in the end produced no other advantage than great gains to some particular governors, who, having garrisons near great roads, received large toll for their safe conducts and protection, and

sometimes very great seizures of such goods as thought to have escaped their notice, all which was converted to their own emolument.

- 8 These were the civil preparations and conclusions of council on both sides. In the mean time, both the king's army and the earl of Essex were contented to refresh themselves in their winter quarters, without any notable engagement, both preparing the best they could for the spring, and to be early ready for the field; yet the winter passed not without action. The great preparation that was made at London, &c. *as in book VIII. par. 1, l. 7.*

3 Y.

VII. 370, l. 1, According to the king's proclamation, &c.] *The meeting of parliament is described as follows in the MS. of the Life :*

- 1 The king received them very graciously and formally in Christ Church hall; made them a speech; and told them he would be glad to receive any advice from them for the good of the kingdom, and restoring it to peace; and wished them to consult together in those rooms which he had caused to be provided for them to sit in in the schools; whither both the peers and the commons presently went, and the commons chose sergeant Evers to be their speaker, one of the king's sergeants at law, and in all respects superior to him who kept the chair at Westminster. There were very near three hundred of the house of commons appeared, when there were not above one hundred remained at Westminster, and very seldom so many; and of the whole house of peers there were seldom above ten or a dozen at Westminster, when there were above threescore at Oxford.
- 2 There were amongst the commons only two privy-counsellors, the master of the rolls (sir John Culpepper) and the chancellor of the exchequer, whose business it was to dispose the rest to think of the best expedient to provide present money, without which the army would not be able to march in the spring, which began to draw on, and to prevent the running into any excesses of discourse, which so great assemblies can very hardly be kept from; and till somewhat was begun amongst the commons, the peers had little to do. Though they all seemed very sensible of the straits the king was in, and resolved to do all that should be in their power to mend it, yet they had a great desire to try

what could be done towards peace, that what they did else in order to carrying on the war might find the more credit with the people; and nobody endeavoured to divert them from prosecuting their desire. So that it was quickly agreed that they should prosecute both designs, to get money and to get peace, together; at least that one might be the business of one day, and the other of the next. They were long considering in what method to put their desires of peace; they knew not how to move the king to make any offer; nor would that way have satisfied them, except they might stand in such a place with his majesty that the motion might appear to proceed from them, and that they might be engaged in the treaty; which the king would have been hardly induced to consent [to]. It was wished that the two houses at Oxford could dispose those at Westminster that they might concur together to be suitors to the king, that they might enter upon a treaty, and frame some propositions to be offered to him. But that quickly appeared unpracticable; for they above had already, by an ordinance, (as they termed it,) declared against that meeting of the members at Oxford with many terms of reproach and menaces; so that it was evident enough, that no correspondence or commerce could possibly grow between them. In the end, it was proposed and agreed, that a letter should be prepared and signed by every member present of the peers and of the commons, and directed to the earl of Essex, informing him of their meeting at Oxford upon his majesty's command; that they found the king very desirous of a just and an honourable peace, that the kingdom might be restored to happiness; and that they therefore desired him to use his credit and interest with the parliament, that they might be disposed to the same inclinations, upon which a treaty might be entered upon; with those expressions as carried a confidence of his concurrence with them. When this letter was framed, they delivered it at a conference to the lords, and desired their concurrence, and that they would move the king, that the general might send this letter, when it was signed, with a trumpet to the earl of Essex, according to the custom observed between them. The lords concurred, the king was content, the letter was signed as aforesaid, and sent by the general with a trumpet to the earl of Essex; who sent the general word, that he had sent it to the parliament, who laid it aside with scorn,

and made no answer to it, as was foreseen, at least by discerning men : whereupon they at Oxford published a declaration to the people, with sharpness against those at Westminster, as not only the beginners of the war, but those who rejected all overtures of peace and accommodation.

The hope of peace &c. *as in par. 394, l. 1.*

3 Z.

VII. 400, l. 31. And sir Thomas Fairfax, &c.] *This paragraph, in the MS. of the Life, was originally thus connected with par. 396, last line.*

The winter being spent in this manner at Oxford, in these deliberations and provisions, many melancholic presages appeared in the spring. Under the countenance of the Scots entering into England, the rebels grew strong in all the northern parts, the garrison of Hull tyrannized over all the adjacent parts, and sir Thomas Fairfax &c.

4 A.

VII. 400, *last line*, unlooked for march into Cheshire.] *The MS. proceeds thus :*

1 As soon as the king was assured that the Scots did resolve to invade England, he thought it necessary, if it were possible, to extinguish the fire in one of his dominions, and so considered Ireland as the most like to be capable of that blessing. Though the English had hitherto in all encounters beaten the Irish, so that they came to no action with them but they presently fled to their bogs, yet the indiscretion of the lords justices, who observed very willingly the most rigorous directions from the parliament, had driven and united the whole Irish nation, and almost all the catholics of Ireland, into rebellion, so that their numbers even covered the whole kingdom. The parliament gave over sending supplies thither, having applied many of the men they had raised for that service with the king's approbation, and very much of the money, against the king, in carrying on the war in England, and had upon the matter given up the province of Ulster to the Scots, who were with a numerous army there, independent upon the king's authority, and were grown to be more apprehended by the English than the Irish themselves. The lords justices and council in Ireland had sent commissioners to the king and to the parliament, to desire supplies

of men and money and arms and ammunition, without which they professed that Ireland must be lost, and fall into the hands of the Irish ; and one of the commissioners, sir Hardress Waller, came to the chancellor of the exchequer, and making a large discourse of the state of Ireland, and of the jealousies and divisions amongst the Irish themselves, told him that there was no way to preserve that kingdom, since he saw evidently the king should not send supplies thither, but to make a peace there, by which he would in a short time be able to suppress the rebellion in England. And sure the man was at that time of that opinion ; and it is as true, many professions had been made by the Irish of their loyalty and devotion to the king's service ; and there [were] many differences and jealousies grown between them. Those within the pale, who were all of old English families, planted there many ages before, and now become Irish in their language and manners, had purposes very different from those of the old Irish families, who for the most part were of Ulster, who looked upon the other as original intruders, and thought of making some foreign dependence, and never more to return to their obedience of the crown of England. And yet Owen O'Neale, who was the general of that party, had writ to the king, and made large offers of his service ; but his majesty had hearkened to no motions of that kind, nor had any man the inclination or the hardiness to make any proposition to him in favour of the Irish. But when his majesty from all hands understood the desperate or hopeless condition of that kingdom, and that the Scots were ready to enter, he resolved to try what might be done, and to put his own authority there into the hands of one he might entirely trust ; and had thereupon made the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant of Ireland, and gave him authority to treat with the Irish ; and if he could bring them to consent to a cessation of arms, and to send over persons to treat with him at Oxford for a peace, he might then draw over some of his own English troops to reinforce his army against the time of taking the field. And that design having succeeded according to his wish, and a cessation being made, the marquis of Ormond had in the winter sent him two or three regiments of foot, and two or three troops of horse, out of Munster to Bristol, and a much greater body of foot, being between three and four thousand, from Dublin to Chester, all men brave and hardy,

and well disciplined under as good officers of all kinds as the nation had: all which arrived in season, and would have been a noble recruit to the king's army, upon which his majesty depended.

- ² The lord Byron, a gallant gentleman of courage, but of no long experience in the war, was then governor of Chester and Shropshire, when those regiments landed; and finding both the men as well as their officers willing to be engaged in present service, having not been used to the ease of winter quarters, he had a great desire to make some attempt with them. All Shropshire and Cheshire was at that time upon the point under the king's obedience, only the town of Nantwich in Cheshire, and upon the confines of the other county, was in rebellion, and garrisoned by the parliament, the defence and strength of it consisting more in the malice of the inhabitants than in the security of their fortifications, which were not good any where, and in some parts none at all, but defended by the winter, and the deepness of the ways, through which cannon could not then march. The lord Byron had some intelligence in the town, and believed the condition of it to be so ill, that he might quickly become master of it; and therefore he had written to Oxford, upon the landing of the troops from Ireland, that if the king would give him leave to use those troops, he should be able in very few days to reduce Nantwich, which would be scarce out of their way to Oxford, and would remove a pestilent obstruction in that line of communication. The king made little pause in the matter; and so in the very hard frost the lord Byron brought all his troops before it, drawing out of Chester and Shrewsbury as many of the garrisons as could be spared, with a good body of horse. He found the town not so weak as he thought it to be, and stayed longer before it than he ought to have done, until sir Thomas Fairfax, fleshed by his victory [at] Selby, and recruited with new troops out of Hull, came to its relief with a less number of men than he was to expect to encounter; but by the marching of the garrison out of the town, and by beating the body of horse which were placed too far from the foot, and made no stand, but was presently routed, the whole body of foot betook themselves to a neighbour church, which they defended only to make conditions; and so became all, officers and soldiers, prisoners of war, which, as it was a new rung to the ladder which sir Thomas Fairfax

ascended to the height of his honour, so it was the most sensible blow to the king he had yet sustained, and almost nipped all hopes of getting an army into the field to encounter the enemy, which sailed with a full gale.

- 3 The king had no better success in another winter enterprise about the same time; and the experience the parliament had, to their cost, of carrying their army into the field too soon to the siege of Reading, the damage whereof they had scarce yet recovered, might have prepared their enemies to better husbandry of their men. It was thought counsellable, after all armies were retired into their winter quarters, to send a good party of horse and foot into Hampshire, to possess Winchester castle, and to fix another quarter in Sussex, to the end that the well affected there, and in Kent, might have a communication, and be ready in the spring to appear in a body on that side of London; [for] which the loyal party in Kent had some impatience, as having undergone great pressures and indignities from the parliament. This work was committed to the lord Hopton, who had a very great reputation in all places, and deserved it, being a man of great honour, integrity, and piety; of great courage and industry, and an excellent officer in an army for any command but the supreme, to which he was not equal. He had raised a good body of horse and foot about Bristol, and sir John Berkeley brought a good addition of foot to him from Exeter; with which, and those regiments which arrived there from Ireland about the beginning of December, he marched to Winchester; sir William Ogle having possessed himself of that castle for the king before he came thither. And to enable him to make a further progress to the ends aforesaid, and upon intelligence that the parliament had sent out sir William Waller with a strong party of their army to stop the lord Hopton's march into those counties, his majesty sent two regiments of horse of his own army, under the command of the lord John Steward, another brother of the duke of Richmond, and two or three regiments of foot, with which the lord Hopton had too much desire to engage with his old friend sir William Waller; and in order thereunto advanced to Farnham, where he was, and had some light skirmishes with his troops, and beat them into that castle, which was a strong place, and where sir William resolved to stay till he could receive some supply of men, which he daily

expected. Whereupon the lord Hopton entered into Sussex, and very prosperously possessed himself of Arundel castle, a place very strongly situated upon the sea, and in all respects so convenient to make a strong quarter that a better could not be desired; where he left a good garrison under the command of sir Edward Ford, who was a gentleman of that county, and had a regiment of horse in the army. But when he returned from thence towards Winchester, where he meant to have sat quiet till the spring, he found sir William Waller ready to attend his motion; and so in a field near Alton both bodies met, and after a sharp engagement, and great loss on both sides, the lord Hopton was forced to retire in disorder to Winchester, and from thence he came to Oxford, whilst Waller marched to Arundel; and after seven or eight days, the new garrison being disunited amongst themselves, and having not supplied the place with provision for a long siege, which they might have done, compelled them to render to mercy: where, amongst the rest, poor Mr. Chillingworth was taken, and so barbarously used, that he died within few days; but his book will live, and declare him to be a man of rare and admirable parts to all posterity. Besides many other officers of good account who were lost in that battle of Alresford, the lord John Steward, though he was brought off, died of his wounds within three days, to the great grief of the king and all good men. He was the second brother of this noble family who lost his life in this fatal war, and was a man of great courage, and, with a different roughness in his nature from all the rest of the race, had proposed to himself the profession of a soldier, in which he could not but have made a glorious progress if he had not been so untimely cut off.

4 There was another result of council at Oxford, *as in par.* 404, *l. i.*

4 B.

VII. 416, *l. 10.* Oxford and York.] *The MS. proceeds thus:*

And the prince had so good success in that attempt, and marched with so great secrecy from Shrewsbury, that he was even upon the trenches of the enemy before they had notice of his approach; which put them into so great confusion; and his horse charged them in that confusion before his foot were within some miles of the place; which was an action that might very reasonably have disappointed and broken the whole design:

but the consternation was so great, which was increased by some disunion amongst the officers of the other side, that though they remained still in possession of some strong redoubts, from whence they could not have been beaten off, and from whence they could still continue the siege, they treated, and agreed to rise, and depart before the prince's body was in view, that, when it appeared, did not make half the number of the enemy: so great success doth often attend bold and resolute attempts, though without reason or advice, which would never have approved this enterprise.

4 C.

VII. 416, l. 11. In Newark, the garrison &c.] *Originally thus in the MS.:*

The year [*namely* 1643-4] ended with an action very prosperous to the king. It is remembered, that upon the marquis of Newcastle's advancing towards the Scots, and the success of sir Thomas Fairfax before Nantwich, the enemy increased very much their strength in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and those counties, insomuch as sir Jo. Meldrum, with a good body of horse and foot out of Lincolnshire and the associated counties, sat down before Newark, where the garrison &c.

4 D.

VIII. 35, l. 1. The king returned to Oxford, &c.] *This account was originally thus introduced in the MS. of the Life:*

The ill accidents of the winter, and the absence of prince Rupert with so considerable a part of the army, and the application of all the levies which had been made to the enabling his highness to proceed in his great enterprise, had kept the king's preparations for the field from any forwardness; so that the parliament forces in two distinct armies, the one under the earl of Essex, the other under Waller, but subject to the earl's orders, marched out of London before the king moved out of Oxford, where he remained till he could fully be informed of their design, which was not now so easy &c. *as in par.* 35, l. 3.

4 E.

VIII. 35, *last line*, end of the war that summer.] *The MS. of the Life proceeds thus:*

1 When they came near Oxford, and divided the armies on

both sides, Waller to Abingdon, and the earl of Essex to the other side of the town, the king thought it time to withdraw from thence; and, taking all the horse with him, and putting all the foot into the town, in the night he marched to Woodstock; and the next day, finding that the earl of [Essex] declined the town, and seemed to follow him, his majesty went forward to Evesham, intending to have continued his march to Worcester, where he could stay till he saw clearly what the two armies would do. But the earl of Essex, when he saw the king was at that distance, turned with his whole army towards the west, and commanded Waller with his body to follow the king, by which both he and his friends in the parliament were disappointed; yet he could not but obey his orders: and with what speed he could he drew his army from the other side of the town, and marched after the king, who had got the benefit of two or three days' rest for his troops; and having speedy intelligence that the two armies were parted, and that Waller only attended his motion, his majesty turned back towards Oxford on the Gloucestershire side, and sent present orders, for the general, who had stayed with the foot and cannon in Oxford, to march out with them to a place appointed, where his majesty and the whole body of horse met them, and being joined were not unwilling to see Waller, who was superior in foot by much, and equal in horse. They looked upon each other a day or two, there being a little river between them, when Waller, having a mind to be at a greater distance, made his army march in no very good order, leaving a good party of horse in the rear. Upon which the van of the king's horse, at a place called Cropredy bridge, about fourteen miles from Oxford, the water being low, by the long dry and hot weather, it being towards the end of June, crossed the river, and charged the enemy's horse, which received them well; and stood the shock so well, that the king's horse gave ground, Wilmot the lieutenant-general being taken prisoner. But the earl of Cleveland, with some troops who were well officered, charged them again so rudely, that he freed the lieutenant-general within few minutes after he was taken, and routed all the horse, who running away, disordered and routed their own foot, so that the king's troops pursuing them with a sharp appetite, they made a good execution both of the horse and

foot, took eight pieces of cannon, with many officers of name ; and amongst them, Wemys the general of the ordnance, and the second officer of the army, a Scotchman, whom the king had made master-gunner of England few years before, to the great and sensible discontent of all the English who understood that service. All this was done by four or five troops of the king's horse, who had marched faster than they ought to have done, the body of the army being a mile behind, as sir Will. Waller's van was above two miles before, when this blow befell their fellows. The king marched with his whole army to overtake the rest, and continued in pursuit, and often in sight of them, two days, but they would not be brought to engagement ; and it appeared quickly after, that this small defeat (in which there did not appear to be a thousand men killed and taken prisoners) had so totally broken all that army, that it was never brought to fight after, and he himself, after a little rest about Dunstable and those parts, returned to London, making grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted : all which was hearkened to very willingly, and his person received and treated as if he had returned victorious : which was a method very contrary to what was practised in the king's quarters.

- 2 The king being thus wonderfully left at liberty, and having with so little loss upon the matter defeated one whole army, his heart was at no ease, with the apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in, who was newly delivered of a daughter, (who was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,) when she saw the earl of Essex with his army before the walls of Exeter, and heard that Waller with another army was in pursuit of his majesty : and therefore he resolved with all possible expedition to follow the earl of Essex. And so returning to Oxford, he stayed only two nights there, to refresh his army, which had had very little rest in eight or ten days ; and then began his march towards the west, taking with him all the garrison that could possibly be drawn from thence, though he left his son the duke of York there ; so that the lords of the council were glad immediately to cause all their servants to be listed and put in troops and companies under good officers ; by which they disposed the town to raise a good regiment of foot, and the scholars likewise to raise several companies

of themselves, and under their own officers ; by all which, with the few soldiers who were left, sufficient guards were kept for the safety of the place, and the fortifications were more diligently repaired and prosecuted than they had been in any time : in which the chancellor of the exchequer was so solicitous, by drawing in the country to work, and by collecting money to pay the workmen, that much was imputed to his extraordinary diligence and industry. At Oxford, though every ill accident always changed the humours there, the town being full of lords and many persons of the best quality, (besides those of the council,) with very many ladies, who were not easily pleased, and kept others from being so, and they had hardly yet recovered the discomposure they had been in, when the king went from thence towards the west, and when he took away all the strength of the garrison with him, which made them think themselves abandoned, and of other places to retire to, which was the reason that the king thought it necessary to leave the duke of York there, to compose their minds the better.

4 F.

VIII. 96, *last line*, which vapoured away.] *Thus continued in the MS. :*

- 1 It is possible this execution was the sooner done, upon the news that Goring was upon the way ; for within two or three days after, he arrived, and the command of the horse was committed to him. There was another reformation likewise made at the same time by the removal of the lord Percy (who had led the van in that creation of peers which had been made at Oxford) from the office of general of the ordnance, which had been without much deliberation conferred upon him a little before ; which was very reasonably bestowed upon the lord Hopton, whose promotion was universally approved ; the one having no friend, and the other generally beloved.
- 2 When the king found himself upon the advantage ground, and that the earl of Essex would in a short time be reduced into great straits, or must fight upon notable disadvantage, his majesty was not without apprehension that he might quickly find the sad effects of the northern victory, by some new army being sent into the west ; and Waller with some troops was ready to come out of London ; and therefore infinitely desired

to work upon the earl, and made some overture to him ; which he received no otherwise than with saying, that he had no authority to treat, but would inform the parliament of what had been proposed : upon which all other thoughts were given over but those of fighting. The earl clearly discerned that he could not undertake that engagement with any reasonable hope of success : his army was in distress of all things, which would quickly increase by the manifest aversion the whole country seemed to have, so that they could get no provisions from it ; and a party was no sooner sent out upon any occasion, than the king's forces had notice of it from the people ; so that they were usually killed or taken prisoners. In the end, the earl found it necessary to send all his horse away in the night, with hope they might make their way through, and then to put himself and some officers on board some vessel which might land them at Plymouth, where there were, or would quickly be, ships to waft them to London ; and then that the foot might make the best condition they could. This consultation was not so secret but that the king had seasonable notice of it, and had as carefully transmitted it to Goring, who lay then quartered at Liskeard, and had, or might have had, all his horse in such a readiness, and caused the narrow lanes to have been so barricadoed and stopped, that it could not have been possible that any number of them could have escaped. But the notice and orders came when he was in one of his usual debauches, which he could in no case master or moderate, but used to entertain them with mirth, and slighting those who sent them as men who took alarums too warmly ; and so he continued his delight till all the body of the enemy's horse under Balfour were passed through his quarters, nor did then pursue them in any time ; so that all but such as by the tiring of their horse were forced to stay behind, and so became prisoners, made a secure retreat to London, to the infinite reproach of the king's army and all the garrisons in the way. Nor was any body punished or called in question for the supine neglect, and the superior officer being inexcusable prevented any severe inquisition into the rest. The horse being thus gone, and the earl of Essex embarked, the foot, being a body of near six thousand, under the command of their major general Skippon, who was a good and a punctual officer, he sent to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, to treat, and to offer

conditions. It was wondered at by many that the king would then grant them any conditions, and not rather compel them to become prisoners of war; but they who took upon them to be most censorious in that point did not know the true state of the king's army, which was in itself very small, inferior to the number of the enemy, poor and naked, and not contented; the country which had come in, and made the show with their trained bands, were weary, and many were already gone to their harvest, which called for the rest. So that the king was contented that, delivering up their arms and cannon and ammunition, they should have liberty to return by slow marches to London, with so much baggage as they carried upon their backs; for preservation whereof they had a guard of horse to conduct them to a place appointed. And upon these terms and in this manner the remainder of that army returned alive to London, where they found their general arrived before them, who had only visited Plymouth for two or three days, whither he had before sent as many soldiers as the place required, and given such directions as he thought fit for the defence of it; and so in a ship of the royal navy, which attended his commands, he was safely delivered at London, and was there received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him.

4 G.

VIII. 250, *l.* 4, sent two of their own body—and his majesty] *Thus originally in the MS.:*

sent two of their own body, whereof they much desired the chancellor of the exchequer would be one; but he excused himself, having in the debate changed his mind, and, upon somewhat that was foreseen like to fall out, was against the making the proposition at all; and his majesty was &c. *as in line 6.*

4 H.

VIII. 250, *l.* 17. vested—But by] *Thus continued in the MS.:* vested, and in that list he named the chancellor of the exchequer, who was very much troubled at the honour, and writ very earnestly to the king to exempt him from the envy of such a trust, by leaving out his name, and putting in another of a higher qualification. But by &c. *as in line 22.*

4 I.

IX. 7, l. 1. The lord Goring &c.] *The following introduction to the description of the state of the western counties appears in the MS., but is erased:*

1 Jersey, 29th of June [1645]. Being now left to leisure enough to recollect all the passages of this last ill year, and finding that they who have been only faulty, and been the principal authors of all the unhappy accidents, have, to redeem themselves from censure, taken all the crooked and indirect ways to lay aspersions upon the council of the prince, as if their unskilfulness, impetuosity, and activity, had produced those mischiefs; (which reports and reporters have found too much credit in France, and I hear with some at Oxford too;) and believing that this late schism in that council may give new opportunity to some, and leisure to others, to renew and contribute to those scandals, and prepare the understandings and affections of many for an unjust reception of such discourses, I have thought it worth my labour, for the satisfaction of those few who cannot be misled but by being misinformed, to set down this plain true narration of all material passages and accidents that have happened from the time of the prince's leaving Oxford to the instant of his leaving Jersey, and without much interrupting the series of the discourse, continue so much of the relation as concerns sir Richard Greenvil entirely by itself, as likewise all the disputes, or rather private murmurings from the lord Goring against the council; and lastly, all the orders and considerations concerning the prince's transporting himself out of England: all which have made several impressions in the minds of many, and, according to their several affections, been applied to the disadvantage of those who attended his highness.

2 I need not remember the grounds and motives of those resolutions of sending the prince into the west, which was not any expectation or opinion of that association which they called "one and all;" for all men looked upon that device as a brain-sick imagination of a few persons, who were not easily weaned from any fancy they had once entertained, how extravagant soever. However, that design and the designers of it were to be managed in that manner as might best conduce to the public service, and to receive all possible countenance, as if the prince

(who had been earnestly invited by them with great promises to that purpose) had no other thought but to encourage that association. But the principal end of his highness' designation for the west, (besides the great reason of state to remove him from being liable to the same dangers with his father, his majesty using to say that he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom, and, besides the other reason, to acquaint his highness with business, and, as the king would say, to unboy him,) was, that by his highness' presence, direction, and authority, the factions and animosities in the west, which miserably infested the king's service, might be composed and reconciled; those few places which were garrisoned in those parts be reduced, and such a regular orderly army raised and commanded by the lord Hopton, under his highness, whose lieutenant-general he was by the king's special direction, and upon the earnest desire of the whole association, as might be applied with most advantage to the public service: and therefore his highness was armed with two commissions; of generalissimo over all England, and of general of the association; and instructed to apply both as occasions required.

3 They who were appointed by the king to attend his highness in this expedition as his council, and whose advice he was positively required and enjoined in all things to follow, were not strangers to the passion and impetuosity of prince Rupert, and to the great dislike he had expressed, and the opposition he had given to the whole design; and therefore expected all the ill offices and disadvantages he could put upon them or the business when they were engaged in it; neither were they so ill courtiers as not to know that their absence from the king would leave them liable to any misrepresentations; but being commanded by him, (whom they had always obeyed,) and being very confident of his majesty's justice, and that it would not be in anybody's power to make alterations in the councils which had been upon great deliberation formed, they very cheerfully submitted to the task [which] was imposed upon them, and on Wednesday the fourth of March attended the prince from Oxford to Faringdon in his journey towards Bristol.

4 On Friday his highness came to Bath, where he resolved to stay two or three days, to the end that in that time both his accommodations might be ready for his reception at Bristol, and

that the commissioners of the several counties might have notice of his presence in those parts; and to that purpose he wrote his letters to the high sheriff and commissioners of Somerset to attend him at Bristol the Wednesday following, and to the commissioners of the several counties to meet at Bristol about a fortnight after; which was as little notice as could reasonably be given; and in the mean time to proceed in the speedy levy of his guards, according to the proportions agreed upon; and to the lord Goring, sir Richard Greenvil, and the several governors of the western garrisons, to return an account to his highness of their several conditions and strengths and provision, with a state of the enemy. And here it will be necessary to set down the state of the western counties at the time when his highness came into those parts. The lord Goring &c. *as in par.* 7, l. 1.

4 K.

IX. 20, *last line*, with the army.] *Thus continued in the MS. :*

- i Besides that this proposition of the lord Goring clearly altered the whole frame of any design laid at Oxford, and tending to the visible dishonour of the lord Hopton, whom the prince was obliged by all obligations of honour and justice to preserve from such an affront, I cannot dissemble myself to have contracted so steady a resolution, upon the former passages of the lord Goring's life, and the observation of his nature, not to mingle with him in any action or council of trust and importance, (though truly his particular deportment to me was not only full of civilities, but of extreme endearment, and his conversation, with reference to my own humour and appetite, full of pleasure and delight,) that if I could have imagined the least purpose of joining him to us when we came from Oxford, I should rather have submitted to any censure his majesty would have imposed on me than undertaken the other trust. When we returned from the treaty at Uxbridge, he was newly departed the town towards Salisbury, (some disputes with prince Rupert having brought him thither, and continued him there some days,) and had met, three or four miles from the town, colonel Ashburnham, to whom he very freely expressed his discontents, with very contemptuous expressions and language of the king and queen; said, that his father was used with great injustice and barbarism in France, and disgraced

by the queen and her ministers ; that he was only courted here for his interest in the soldier, and because the king could not be without him ; but swore, that as soon as he had put himself into such a posture as he doubted not he should be shortly in, he would make them do his father and himself justice, or they should repent it : all which col. Ashburnham informed me and many others before we left Oxford.

- ² When we came to Bristol, my lady Dalkeith sent me word by Ball Apsley, that Goring, being then at Exeter with many of his chief officers, in most notorious, scandalous disorder, lieutenant-general Porter came to her, and, inveighing much against lord Goring, told her that he would at some time or other betray the king, and that he had a design to be lieutenant-general to the prince, (which was the first hint I had, or I believe any in our company, that he affected that charge ;) but that, if ever he had the prince in his power, he would give him up to the rebels. These animadversions, with the licence that he always took to himself, both in words and actions, and gave to his soldiers, who exercised all disorders, in contempt of all religion and government, made me very unwilling that the prince should either venture his person with such a person, or his hope and innocency with such an army, which I could not imagine God could prosper in any thing they undertook, or make them the instruments of any happiness to the king or kingdom ; and confirmed me in the resolution of preserving myself from acting any part with him. It is true that, at the same time, lord Goring inveighed as much to the lady Dalkeith against Porter for cowardice and treachery, and writ then to me by Ball Apsley to move the prince to send some officer (whercupon the lord Wentworth was sent) to command the horse, because he could not trust his brother Porter, either in conduct or courage ; and told me afterwards, that he suspected him for correspondence with the enemy, not only because his wife lived amongst them, but because he knew he had often writ and sent to the enemy without giving him notice of it.

4 L.

IX. 55, l. 1—9, There hath been—before Plymouth.] *This account was originally introduced with the following anecdote :*

There need but two instances be given, (though it is not

possible to avoid many more in the continuance of this discourse,) to discover the nature and the temper of the man: the first, that, coming (at his first coming into the country, and having then no command) to visit general Digby, who then commanded before Plymouth, after dinner, in requital of his civility, and as a respect to him, and it being possible that some party from Plymouth might be in his way, Mr. Digby (who told me this story) sent a party of horse to attend him for some miles. As they passed, sir Richard espied two fellows in a common, with burdens of wood upon their backs, and sent a trooper to fetch them to him. When they came, he found them, upon examination and threats, to be soldiers of the garrison of Plymouth, who had stolen out to beg victuals, and had taken those burdens to disguise them in their return. Whereupon he caused them to draw lots which of them should hang the other, and in his own presence forced him to whose turn it came, to hang his fellow, himself then having no power or command in those parts. The other instance was, that shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plymouth, &c. *as in par.* 55, l. 9.

4 M.

IX. 82, l. 34, presented to his highness, which with great difficulty was at last prevented.] *The MS. proceeds thus:* presented to him, to which purpose we spake to the governor; and I, observing that sir Peter Ball was very active and solicitous in that design, and knowing well his temper, not easily to be contained within modest and prudent bounds, spake one day to my lord Goring, who I knew had the absolute power over him, of the business, and told him, that I believed it might be very counsellable for the prince to send some popular message to Fairfax, whereby a treaty for peace might be procured, but that there could not be a more effectual course taken to render any such overture useless as by an open and passionate appearance in the country, whereby the proposition would be judged, not to proceed from the prince's piety, but their importunity, and the insolence of the enemy be so much increased as they would judge so great a party to be cast down and dejected; and therefore I desired him to dissuade sir Peter Ball from having any hand in it. But I quickly found he was privy to the whole design; and, after many arguments, he told me he

could not advise him to desist from that which he thought very reasonable to be attempted; and that for his part he saw no hope in any thing but a treaty, nor no way to compass a treaty but this that was proposed. However, by the governor's great diligence and activity, that course of petitioning or proposing was waved; and the prince himself sent that message to sir Thomas Fairfax, for a safe conduct for the lords Hopton and Colepepper, which was public, and afterwards so much neglected.

4 N.

IX. 83, l. 60, till the king's affairs—at that time.] *Thus in the MS. originally:*

till the king might thoroughly consider, who might probably find some way to satisfy my lord Hopton, and by whose direction and command alone it could be fit to satisfy his lordship. I cannot say he was satisfied with what I said; for he objected many things, and told me, he had reason to believe that all the council were not of my opinion; and if he could satisfy me, that he was resolved to press the prince in it. I replied, that it might be other men were better courtiers than I, and spake not their opinions so freely to him; (for I well knew my lord Colepepper, who was as far from consenting to those propositions as I was, was yet well contented that my lord Goring should believe otherwise;) who, when it came to be debated, would be of the same mind. However, I told him, he should do well to propose it, and if there were no more of my mind he could receive no prejudice by my dissent. He said he would speak with me again the next day, but I heard no more of it till I left Exeter.

4 O.

IX. 159, l. 1. After the loss of Dartmouth.] *Originally thus in the MS.:*

After the loss of Dartmouth, my lord Colepepper (as he had done sometimes before) spake with me of the duke, and told me he would be able to do the king great service in the business of Scotland; and that he was persuaded he might be made of great use, and that Dr. Frazier (who had sometimes spoke with me to that purpose) was of opinion, that if his lordship and I spake with the duke, he would be persuaded to

do any thing we advised. I answered, I thought otherwise, for that, upon all the discourse I had with him, he seemed wholly intent upon his liberty, and to attempt nothing without that; and that Dr. Frazier drove in all his discourse with me to that point too; which, I said, if our judgments were satisfied, (as mine was not,) I conceived not [to] be in the prince's power. My lord Colepepper seemed confident (though I had often before acquainted him with all that had passed) that the duke might easily be persuaded to act his part before he had his liberty. I was then sent again to Pendennis, to hasten the provisions and the works, and went about by Foy and Low thither, to take order for some provisions which had been made in those places by my direction. When I came to Truro, I heard that my lord Colepepper and Dr. Frazier had lain there the night before, and were that morning gone to the Mount. I easily guessed the occasion, though I wondered much at it, having left them both at Launceston. The next day we met, and then my lord Colepepper told me that the duke, upon much discourse and persuasion, had consented to send a servant speedily to the Scotch army &c. *as in par.* 159, l. 10.

4 P.

X. 12, *last line*, in the Scottish army.] *The narrative is thus continued in another part of the MS.:*

- ¹ After some three weeks, Montrevil returned from Newcastle, with information (which Mr. Ashburnham's coming from him at the same time sufficiently discovered) that the king was in truth in no better condition than of a prisoner, and that his design was to make an escape from them. This again was made a great argument for the necessity of the prince's hasty remove, which was so contrary to all the grounds before laid down: to which was added some private instructions the king should send by word of mouth by Montrevil; though Mr. Ashburnham (who might be presumed to know as much of the king's mind as Montrevil) professed to my lords Capel and Colepepper, that he thought the prince's coming into France at that time would be very prejudicial to the king's affairs. But the cardinal Mazarine had sent the queen word, that he had intelligence from London that the prince was to be given up by some of his own followers for five thousand pounds; and therefore the resolution was

fixed, and the lord Jermyn sent to Jersey, to bring his highness to the queen. What passed after his coming thither is faithfully set down by itself. I cannot omit the remembering, that though the lord Colepepper was instructed, when he went from Scilly, to propose to her majesty some other ways for the prince's support, besides the depending upon her royal bounty, as particularly to endeavour the borrowing a reasonable sum of money of the duke of Espernon; and both the lords who went from Jersey had particular directions to receive her majesty's approbation for sending to the king of Denmark to borrow twenty thousand pounds; and of other expedients of the same nature, which we had reason to believe would prove very successful, though none of them could be undertaken, because the very attempt would be matter of charge, which, without her majesty's favour the prince could not disburse. But she was not pleased to approve of any course proposed, that he might have no hope of subsistence but by her, which she believed would bring him to her.

- ² I conceive I have omitted very few particulars in this plain narration which in any degree had reference to the public: particular injuries and indignities to ourselves, I have purposely omitted very many: and with modesty enough I may believe, that they who are the severest censurers of our whole carriage would not have committed fewer mistakes if they had been in our places and conditions.—*Jersey, this 31st of July, (1646.)*

4 Q.

X. 13, l. 52, grateful to the lord lieutenant.] *The MS. proceeds thus:*

The prince, within a fortnight after his coming to Scilly, which was in March, found the place not so strong as he had understood it to be; that the island was very poor, and that he should not be able to draw any provisions thither from Cornwall, by which commerce those islands had still been supported; he resolved therefore, before the year advanced further, when the seas were like to be more infested with the enemy's ships, to transport himself to Jersey; which he did very happily, and found it to be a place in all respects very fit to reside in, till he might better understand the present condition of England, and

receive some positive advice from the king his father. By this sudden remove, &c. *as in par.* 13, *l.* 53.

4 R.

XI. 153, *l.* 5, and flourish.] *The following account is from the MS. of the History :*

As soon as Cromwell had finished his work in Scotland with the marquis of Argyle, he found it necessary to make all possible haste to London, without making any stay by the way about Pontefract, or any thing else. When all outward enemies were subdued to their wish, the fire began already to be kindled in the houses, and the presbyterians took heart upon the confidence they had in the city of London, which stood yet entire, by reason that they had not exposed themselves to any disadvantage, by declaring their affections either in the business of Kent or the siege of Colechester ; and the whole kingdom in general seemed very solicitous once more to treat with the king ; against which there was a declaration and resolution of both houses ; and if that should be recalled, their foundations were shaken, and they had nothing to insist upon. And therefore when Cromwell returned, he used all his faculties of persuading this man, and terrifying and threatening others, to induce them to adhere to their declaration and vote of making no more addresses to the king ; if it should depart from them, their reputation of constancy would be presently lost. Very many members of the house of commons, who had discontinued coming to the house from the very time that declaration had passed the house, came now thither again upon the account of the new debate against him. Whereupon, after Cromwell had tried all the ways he could, he was at last compelled to consent to what the major part of both houses so positively required ; and so they agreed to send commissioners once more to the king at the Isle of Wight, with their old demands upon the church, the militia, and Ireland ; which was now upon the matter reduced to the king's obedience, the city of Dublin excepted. But that they might be at a certainty in point of time, they resolved that the treaty should continue only for twenty days, at the expiration whereof the commissioners should be obliged to return, and to give the houses account of what the king should in that

time have offered ; and during that time of the treaty, the king was attended by such persons of divines and lawyers as he made choice of, and was lodged at the town of Newport, that there might be some appearance of liberty, though all guards were kept upon him with all possible strictness. The commissioners who were sent to treat with him, for the major part, were such who did heartily desire to preserve the king, and did fully discover the wickedness of the army ; that is, the wicked intention and resolution of Cromwell, Vane, and the rest, who enough declared that they would have no more a king, but would erect a republic. Whereupon all possible endeavours were used by those who came to attend upon his majesty by his own command, as well as such of the commissioners as were generally known to abhor the violence that was intended, to persuade the king to yield as much in all the particulars demanded as might satisfy the houses, the major part whereof they believed would be satisfied with much less than they would be who governed the army. The king was more easily persuaded to comply in any thing else than in that which concerned the church, his concessions wherein could only do him good, in regard that [they] must satisfy the presbyterians, who must make the major party. All the transactions passed in writing, the papers whereof are to be seen, which will make posterity wonder at the impudence and impiety of that time, that could treat such a prince in such a manner. When the time grew to an expiration, the importunity of his friends wrought upon him to consent to so much as the commissioners who pressed most did believe would give satisfaction ; and they who knew the king best, did really think that his majesty much rather wished that the parliament would reject than accept it ; so far he was from being pleased with his own concessions. During the treaty, some of the commissioners treated the king very rudely, yet not with so much insolence as Jenkins and Spurstow, two presbyterian ministers, exercised towards him, who both were very saucy, telling him that he would be damned ; with which his majesty was not at all disturbed.

They who had not seen the king &c. *as in par.* 157, l. 1.

4 S.

XI. 194, l. 18, glad to have seen him.] *The MS. proceeds :*

Once afterwards he did endeavour to make an escape out of his window, having, as he thought, such provision made for him, that if he had been out of his [chamber] he might have been conveyed out of their reach ; but he was deceived by a vulgar assertion, that where the head can out, the whole body will follow ; and so having made an experiment with his head between the bars of the window, he concluded that he could easily have got out that way ; but when he thought to have executed it, and had his head out, and used all the motions he could to draw his body after him, he found himself so straitened, that he could get neither backward [n]or forward ; and after much pain, sustained to no purpose, he was forced to call out for some to come for his relief ; and so he was from without and from within helped back into his chamber, which put an end to all attempts of that kind ; and it was then believed that he was betrayed into that design, and that Rolph, who was afterwards accused of it, expected his descent from his window, with a purpose to have murdered him. [*See doubts thrown on this story a few pages further in the history, par. 196.*]

4 T.

XII. 65, l. 5, news from Ireland.] *The MS. thus continues :*

The marquis of Ormond, after all the promises of assistance made by the cardinal, had been compelled to transport himself without any supply of men or arms or money ; which he would never have done, if the importunity from the lord Inchiquin, and the confederate catholics, who could not agree without him, had not obliged him to it. They had agreed upon a cessation, which had driven the nuncio from thence ; but they could not agree upon a peace, (without which they could not join together against the parliament,) until the lord lieutenant came thither, who had the only power to make it. Whereupon, with all the presages of ill fortune within himself, and about the time that the Scots army under duke Hamilton was defeated, he embarked himself, only with his own servants, and some officers, at Havre de Grace, and arrived safely at Cork in the province of Munster, where the lord Inchiquin

delivered up the government to him, and was by him made lieutenant-general of the army, which were all his own men, who had long served under him in the province of Munster, of which he was president, and with which he had reduced the Irish into those straits, that they were willing to unite with him on the king's behalf against the parliament forces, which possessed Dublin and the parts thereabouts. As soon as the marquis of Ormond was arrived, &c. *as in par.* 65, l. 5.

4 U.

XII. 77, *last line*, temper of that court.] *Thus continued in the MS. :*

During the time of their short stay at Paris, the queen used the chancellor very graciously, but still expressed trouble that he was sent in that embassy, which she said would be fruitless, as to any advantage the king would receive from it; and she said, she must confess, that though she was not confident of his affection and kindness towards her, yet she believed that he did wish that the king's carriage towards her should be always fair and respectful; and that she did desire that he might be always about his majesty's person; not only because she thought he understood the business of England better than any body else, but because she knew that he loved the king, and would always give him good counsel towards his living virtuously; and that she thought he had more credit with him than any other who would deal plainly and honestly with him. There was a passage at that time, of which he used to speak often, and looked upon as a great honour to him. The queen one day, amongst some of her ladies in whom she had most confidence, expressed some sharpness towards a lord of the king's council, whom she named not, who she said always gave her the fairest words, and promised her every thing she desired, and had persuaded her to affect somewhat that she had before no mind to, and yet she was well assured, that when the same was proposed to the king on her behalf, he was the only man who dissuaded the king from granting it. Some of the ladies seemed to have the curiosity to know who it was, which the queen would not tell. One of them, who was known to have a friendship for him, said, she hoped it was not the chancellor. To which her majesty replied with some quickness, that she

might be sure it was not he, who was so far from making promises, or giving fair words, and flattering her, that she did verily believe that if he thought her to be a whore he would tell her of it; which when that lady told him, he was not displeased with the testimony. [*See Clarendon's Life, part V.*]

4 X.

XII. 81, l. 15, but had presumed &c.] *Thus originally in the MS.:*

but for his vicious life, in keeping women in his house, to the more public scandal, because his wife was much respected in those parts, and was subjected to the insolence of those women in her own house, and was shortly after turned out of it, for being displeased with her rude treatment. They had driven the duke &c. *as in line 21.*

4 Y.

XII. 81, l. 35, command upon the prince.] *The MS. adds:*

The marshal, who had then no old look, told them, it was full forty years since he was first made captain of a foot company in Italy; and he was alive above twenty years after this discourse.

4 Z.

XII. 102, l. 12, ready to do all that was in his power—relief.] *Originally thus in the MS.:*

to do all that was in his power for him. They then said somewhat of themselves, of their respect to him, and their desire to render themselves as acceptable to his catholic majesty as they could. The king was observed to speak with much more grace upon that occasion to the chancellor than to the other; told him he had heard much of him, of his parts, and of his zeal for his master's service, for which he should be sure to have his favour always; saying very little of grace to the lord Cottington.

BISHOP WARBURTON'S
NOTES
ON
LORD CLARENDON'S
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.

BISHOP Warburton's Notes.

BOOK I.

Par. 3. l. 25. in which as I shall have the fate to be suspected rather for malice to many, than of flattery to any, so I shall, in truth, preserve myself from the least sharpness, that may proceed from *private provocation*.] This he generously verified in the case of his mortal enemy the lord Digby, whenever he becomes the subject of his discourse.

Par. 4. l. 25. and *unpolished integrity* of others.] Laud.

Par. 6. l. 6. And here I cannot but *let myself loose to say*.] As if he were speaking against his duty when he censured the crown.

Par. 6. l. 18. In which always the king had the disadvantage to harbour persons about him, &c.] It is plain then the king had indeed evil counsellors about him, as his enemies suggested, though apparently not those whom they designed by that title.

Par. 7. l. 8. those ends being only discredited by the jealousies the people entertained from the *manner of the prosecution, that they were other, and worse than in truth they were*.] His meaning is apparently this: The people questioned (as well they might) whether he had their happiness in view, since he prosecuted that pretence by means very unjustifiable, namely, encroachments on the people's rights. The historian supposes the king had indeed that public end in view; and so do I.

Par. 7. l. 20. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice in the intervals of parliaments will not be much scandalized at the *warmth and vivacity of those meetings*.] This is a very honest declaration and confession of the arbitrary proceedings of the court.

Par. 8. l. 12. And could it be imagined, that these men would meet again in a free convention of parliament, without a sharp and severe expostulation, and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed upon that right? In other words, the people long bore with patience a tyrannical invasion of their rights.

Par. 9. l. 1. The abrupt and *ungracious* breaking of the two first parliaments.] A softer word for injurious.

Par. 10. l. 1. I wonder less at the errors of this nature in the duke of Buckingham; who, having had a most *generous education* in courts, &c.] i. e. been received there on his very first appearance on the footing of a minion. A strange paraphrasis.

Par. 10. l. 6. in the space of a few weeks, *without any visible cause intervening*.] How could the historian say that, when the visible cause was the parliament's detecting the numerous falsehoods with which the duke imposed upon them at the conference concerning the Spanish match?

Par. 10. l. 21. But that the other, the lord Weston, who had been very much and very popularly conversant in those conventions, who exactly knew the frame and *constitution* of the kingdom.] A confession that both of them violated the constitution, though not with equal knowledge.

Par. 11. l. 1. There is a protection very gracious and just, which princes owe to their servants, when, in obedience to their just commands, upon extraordinary and *necessary* occasions, in the execution of their trusts, they swerve from the strict rule of the law, which, without that mercy, would be penal to them.] As for instance, during a hostile invasion of this country, the general's quartering his soldiers in private houses, marching through enclosures, &c.

Par. 14. l. 1. And for the better taking this prospect, we will take a survey of the person of that great man, the duke of Buckingham, (who was so barbarously murdered at this time,) whose influence had been unfortunate *in* the public affairs, and whose death produced a change in all the counsels.] He would not say *to*, because that would imply a hurtful, baleful influence; *in*, only an unsuccessful influence.

Par. 19. l. 22. it is not to be doubted but that he would have *withdrawn his affection* from the duke entirely before his death.] So that it appears he *was weary of his favourite*, at least,

though he had not courage to deprive him of his power; yet even this the historian tells us he projected. See book I. par. 39.

Par. 33. l. 19. so that the prince and duke should afterwards, to one or both houses, as occasion should be offered, make a relation of what had passed in Spain, *especially concerning the palatinate.*] It is certain that both James and his son after him (as appears by the Clarendon State Papers) had suffered themselves to be most egregiously duped throughout the whole course of that long and ignominious negotiation by that most perfidious court of Spain. Had the difficulty of the father and son arisen from the necessity, if they would force Spain to leave off trifling, and do them justice, of joining France against them at a time when the political balance of Europe was greatly turned in favour of France, their backwardness had been commendable and noble; but it appears from the State Papers, that as it was in James the love of what he called peace, so in Charles it was the dread of a parliament.

Par. 34. l. 9. *likewise*] likely.

Par. 43. l. 19. which *breach upon his kingly power* was so much without a precedent, (except one unhappy one made three years before, to gratify likewise a private displeasure,) that the like had not been practised in some hundred of years.] Is it a proof that the impeachment of a minister is a breach of the royal power because not practised of very many years?

Par. 49. l. 31. the same men who had called him our saviour, for bringing the prince safe out of Spain, called him now the corrupter of the king, and betrayer of the liberties of the people, without imputing the *least crime* to him, to have been committed since the time of that exalted adulation, or that was not then as much known to them as it could be now.] They did not then know how he had imposed upon them in his false narrative. His other misdemeanours indeed they did know as well then as afterwards.

Par. 50. l. 14. And many persons of the best quality and condition under the peerage were committed to several prisons, with *circumstances unusual as unheard of, for refusing to pay money required by those extraordinary ways.*] If this was not tyranny, I do not know what is.

Par. 70. l. 1. His single misfortune was, (which indeed was

productive of many greater,) that he *never made* a noble and a worthy friendship with a man so near his equal, that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions.] This is a mistake; it appears from the letters that passed between him and Bacon, that he had the chancellor for his friend, who gave him much good advice, and was at length ruined by urging it too vehemently, against the alliance between the duke's brother and Cook's daughter.

Par. 74. l. 3. in a time when the crown was so poor, and the people more inclined to a *bold* inquiry how it came to be so, than *dutifully* to provide for its supply.] But was there not more of *duty* than *boldness* in the people's representatives to inquire how that power came to be poor?

Par. 81. l. 12. he had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, *a lady of a very sublime quality*, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses.] Anne of Austria, queen of France.

Par. 81. l. 36. and the more notorious the king's displeasure was towards them.] Duke d'Espernon and the duchess of Chevreuse.

Par. 88. l. 1. And it cannot be denied, that from these two wars so wretchedly entered into, and the circumstances before mentioned, and which flowed from thence, the duke's ruin took its date, and never left pursuing him, till that execrable act upon his person, the malice whereof was contracted by that sole *evil spirit* of the time, without any partner in the conspiracy.] Why *evil spirit*, to endeavour by legal ways to overthrow a minister, the most debauched, the most unable, and the most tyrannical that ever was?

Par. 88. l. 11. under which it had enjoyed *a greater measure of felicity* than any nation was ever possessed of.] This fallacy runs through the whole history. The subjects were not to vindicate their rights and liberty overturned, because that either by the less tyrannical exercise of arbitrary power, or by the excellent frame of even an oppressed constitution, or by the lucky conjunctures of the times, England then enjoyed *a very great measure of felicity*.

Par. 93. l. 13. And the countess herself was, at the duke's leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest

agony imaginable.] If there was any truth in the officer of Windsor's going to the duke on this errand, it appears plainly to me to be an imposition on the officer by the duke's mother, who regaled the poor man with the apparition and the secret. The duke confessing that one more knew of it besides himself, who seems to be the mother, from the duke's going to her in a rage, as suspicious of the contrivance, and her being found on his leaving her *overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony*, as being detected.

Par. 96. l. 17. who, though a man of great wit and good *scholastic* learning.] By *scholastic learning*, the historian means learning in the bishop's own profession.

Par. 96. l. 32. And he himself had use of all his strength and skill (as he was an excellent wrestler) to preserve himself from falling, in two shocks.] That is, in the defensive only, as appears by what is said of him, book I. par. 82.

Par. 97. l. 1. He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom; and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the *law at least equally with any man* who had ever sate in that place, but had *a clear conception of the whole policy* of the government *both of church and state*, which, by the unskilfulness of some well-meaning men, justled each the other too much.] Yet of this lord Coventry Whitelock says, "he was of no transcendent parts or fame." Which will you believe? Here party was not concerned: certainly Hyde was a better judge of a man's *parts*, if not of his law.

Par. 99. l. 1. He had, in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange *power of making himself believed*, the only justifiable design of eloquence.] i. e. convincing men that those were his sentiments which he professed, and truly, to be so, and that they were sentiments to be followed.

Par. 108. l. 9. that the king was pleased twice to pay his debts; at least, towards it, to disburse *forty thousand pounds* in ready money out of his exchequer.] I suppose the historian here may refer to the paper now in the first volume of the Clarendon State Papers, p. 30. 8vo. by which it appears, by an acknowledgment under the king's hand, that he had allowed this treasurer to receive to his own use certain sums, partly

from the exchequer, and partly from particulars, for royal favours, 44,500*l.* This was in the year 1634.

Par. 117. l. 20. and he did too frequently gratify their unjustifiable designs and pretences: *a guilt and mischief, all men who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be so, are liable to, and can hardly preserve themselves from.*] i. e. men, of whom the crown may take advantage for their misdemeanours, are compelled, when called upon, to do their dirty jobs.

Par. 118. l. 4. conversing little with any who were in common conversation.] i. e. much in the world.

Par. 119. l. 13. he made a wonderful and costly purchase of excellent *statues*, whilst he was in Italy and in Rome.] And the *Marmora Arundeliana* now at Oxford.

Par. 119. l. 17. had a rare collection of the most curious medals.] And engraved gems of all kinds.

Par. 128. l. 1. He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well.] Whyte, sir Robert Sydney's agent, speaking of this person when he first went to court in 1600, in queen Elizabeth's time, says, "Mr. Philip Herbert is here, and one of the forwardest courtiers I ever saw in my time; for he had not been here four hours, but he grew as bold as the best. Upon Tuesday he goes back again, full sore against his will." Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 190.

Par. 146. l. 27. To which end the most proper expedients were best understood by them, not to enlarge *it*, by continuing and propagating the war.] *Poverty* of the crown, ungrammatical.

Par. 146. l. 40. And after some short unquietness of the people, and unhappy assaults upon the prerogative by the parliament.] He means what the court called prerogative.

Par. 146. l. 44. there quickly followed so excellent a composure throughout the whole kingdom, that the like peace and plenty and universal *tranquillity* for ten years was never enjoyed by any nation.] Or rather *torpor*, arising from the desperate state into which the liberty of the people was fallen.

Par. 147. l. 1. That proclamation, mentioned before, at the break of the last parliament, and which "inhibited all men to speak of another parliament," produced two very ill effects of different natures.] That this interpretation of the proclamation concerning parliaments, that the king intended that the people

should think no more of them than he did, appears plainly from the following fact. In the year 1633, the king agreed upon a draught (which was by his direction drawn up by his ministers) of a circular letter for a voluntary contribution to the support of the queen of Bohemia and her children; which, to put the people in better humour, concluded with these words: "After our having so long forborne to demand any of them [the people] for foreign affairs; assuring them, that as the largeness of their free gift will be a clear evidence to us of the measure of their affection towards us, which we esteem our greatest happiness, so their forwardness to assist us in this kind *shall not make us more backward to require their aid in another way, no less agreeable to us than to them, when the season shall be proper for it.*" This paragraph the king struck out of the draught, and with his own hand hath added these words: *I have scored out these eight lines, as not judging them fit to pass.* See the Clarendon Collection of State Papers, vol. i. 8vo. published 1767, p. 113.

Par. 147. l. 9. that there was *really an intention* to alter the form of government, both in church and state.] Was there not? This is strange; for what follows [in par. 148.] shews that this intention was verified by practice.

Par. 147. l. 13. Then, this freedom from the danger of such an inquisition did not only encourage *ill men* to all boldness and license.] i. e. courtiers of corrupt principles.

Par. 147. l. 18. especially if they found themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, and feared not *extraordinary*, they by degrees thought that no fault which was like to find no punishment.] i. e. parliamentary.

Par. 147. l. 27. obsolete laws were revived, and rigorously executed, wherein the *subject might be taught* how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own.] i. e. it was the declared purpose of the court to teach him.

Par. 148. l. 1. And by this ill husbandry the king received a vast sum of money from all persons of quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition throughout the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood; which, though it had *a foundation in right*, yet, in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous. And *no less unjust projects* of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous,

all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men.] i. e. it was countenanced by old practice, now (from the reason of things) obsolete and out of use, which the author insinuates in the next sentence.

Par. 155. l. 3. instances of *power and sovereignty* upon the liberty and property of the subject.] i. e. invasion.

Par. 159. l. 1. Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be accused of much *flattery* in this inquisition.)] Certainly not *flattery*, but much prejudice, insensibly arising out of an honest gratitude towards the princes by whom he rose.

Par. 159. l. 10. enjoyed the greatest calm, and the *fullest measure of felicity*, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with.] See what is said on this head of felicity in par. 88.

Par. 160. l. 11. and besides the blemish of an unparalleled act of blood upon the life of a crowned neighbour queen and ally, the fear and apprehension of what was to come (which is one of the most unpleasant kinds of melancholy) from an unknown, at least an unacknowledged, successor to the crown, clouded much of that prosperity then, which now shines with so much splendour before our eyes in chronicle.] But the historian should not have forgot the struggles she had to wrestle with, and which by a superior policy she so glorious overcame, not only laid the foundation of, but indeed produced all that *felicity* which the historian so much boasts of under her successors, and which their perverse policy with some difficulty at length destroyed.

Par. 163. l. 1. When these outworks were thus fortified and adorned, it was no wonder if England was generally thought secure, &c.] Considering all that the author has confessed of the attempts towards arbitrary [power], it is so far from being a wonder that a rich and happy people should not be disposed to sit down contented under those attempts, that it would have been a wonder if they should; since a people under those favourable circumstances only are disposed and enabled to vindicate *endangered liberty*.

Par. 163. l. 31. and it may be, this consideration might not be the *least motive*, and *may not be the worst excuse for those counsels*.] Machiavel never made a juster or profounder observation.

Par. 163. l. 43. In a word, many wise men thought it a time, wherein those two miserable adjuncts, which Nerva was deified for uniting, *imperium et libertas*, were as well reconciled as is possible.] This is perfectly astonishing to all who consider what went just before; and would make one suspect this to be a spurious addition.

Par. 164. l. 9. every man more *troubled and perplexed at that they called the violation of one law, than delighted or pleased with the observation of all the rest of the charter.*] And with reason. The historian confesses that the *violation of this one law* was supported in the courts of justice by a *logic*, (as he expresses it,) *which left no man any thing which he might call his own*, [par. 150. line 31.] So how could they be pleased with what was left, not *by observation of the rest of the charter*, as he represents it, but by a precarious suspension of the violation.

Par. 164. l. 21. whilst the indiscretion and folly of one sermon at Whitehall was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the wisdom, sobriety, and devotion of a hundred.] And with reason, because that *one sermon* was supported, cried up, and adopted by the court, while the hundred were neglected and discountenanced.

Par. 165. l. 9. that if the sermons of those times preached in court were collected together, and published, the world would receive the best bulk of orthodox divinity.] We can see nothing of this character in the sermons then and there preached and published, which are not a few; on the contrary, they are full of pedantry and quibble.

Par. 165. l. 15. And I cannot but say, for the honour of the king,...there was not one churchman, in any degree of favour,... of a scandalous insufficiency in learning.] True.

Par. 165. l. 27. like *pride* in some, and like *petulance* in others.] Laud and Wren.

Par. 165. l. 32. an *ample recompense.*] Not true.

Par. 166. l. 4. against which no kingdom in Christendom, in the constitution of its government, in the solidity and execution of the laws, and *in the nature and disposition of the people, was more secure than England.*] Is not this a strong presumption that the court had administered sufficient cause for the discontents which followed?

Par. 171. l. 14. as they are equal promoters, &c.] This is very

obscure, but the sense of the whole period is this: It was thought fit to discountenance those who for the sake of popularity spoke in parliament what was ungrateful to the king. But the discountenance being supposed to proceed from the advice of Hamilton, the *discountenance* was of service to them, and made them more bold. Besides, they had art to shift from themselves the imputation of all that discountenance which they were unwilling to own was levelled at themselves. As on the other hand, when they could get any thing by the imputation of that *discountenance*, they were as dexterous in owning it, and proclaiming to all that it was so directed.

Par. 173. l. 1. The king his son, with his kingdoms and other virtues.] The son had real virtues, the father had none.

Par. 173. l. 14. to accomplish which he was not *less solicitous* than the king himself, nor the king the *less solicitous* for his advice.] i. e. they encouraged and inflamed one another in their ill-timed and indiscreet zeal.

Par. 176. l. 5. *whose satisfaction was not to be laboured.*] Certainly it was in indifferent matters, or St. Paul was much mistaken.

Par. 177. l. 25. that the exception and advice proceeded from the *pride* of their own hearts.] A very generous pride, arising, as he owns it did, from the jealousy of a *dependency*.

Par. 178. l. 9. they would with more *confidence*, *though less reason*, frame other exceptions, and insist upon them with more obstinacy.] He speaks of the church of Scotland as schismatics from the church of England; which was by no means the case. They were not pleading for indulgence from an established church, but were themselves the established church, and debated about some projected alterations in worship and ceremonies.

Par. 181. l. 11. *this opinion.*] It is of little significancy to the public whether the A. B. was in this sincere or not; it is of the greatest importance to it that such opinions should be discouraged, and the authors of the actions consequent thereon punished.

Par. 181. l. 13. for the *good and honour of the state.*] It is true he projected the advancing both by the same means, despotic power in the governors of both. What he thought of the state is seen from a very remarkable observation he makes of the king's

giving up Strafford, in the History of his Life and Troubles, p. 178. Speaking of this latter he says, "He served a prince "who knew not how to be, or be made great;" an observation that does as much honour to his penetration as dishonour to his principles.

Par. 185. l. 6. and had too great a *jurisdiction* over the church.] It is here used for credit, interest, or popularity.

Par. 187. l. 7. and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and *solid study of divinity*.] I doubt he means the *divinity of the schools*, which some churchmen whom he most revered had too high an opinion of.

Par. 187. l. 27. by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that university, which was *indeed according to the doctrine of the church of England*.] The historian means *Arminianism*.

Par. 189. l. 3. the *greatest* of which was.] How could the historian say this was the greatest, when in the very next page he owns that Laud was *vindictive* and *unjust*.

Par. 189. l. 25. and a scholar of the *most sublime parts*.] He does not appear to be so by the history which he wrote in the Tower, of his trial and sufferings, though it surely deserves not the despicable character which Burnet has given of it.

Par. 190. l. 7. the duke of Buckingham, after he had made some experiments of the temper and spirit of the other people, *nothing to his satisfaction*. Par. 191. l. 1. he retained *too keen a memory* of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before. Par. 191. l. 8. so he entertained *too much prejudice*, &c.] Without doubt these were an impracticable people; yet I am afraid the chief disgust that Buckingham took to them, after having courted them, arose from their not being found tractable to his schemes of arbitrary power.

Par. 193. l. 13. and the *murmur and discontent* that was, *appeared to be against the excess of power exercised by the crown, and supported by the judges in Westminster-hall*.] As if this were a slight matter, when indeed all was at stake.

Par. 193. l. 21. and the *cause* of so prodigious a change.] He plainly means the conduct of the archbishop.

Par. 193. l. 22. The archbishop's heart was set upon the *advancement of the church*.] An equivocal expression; but it here means an accession of temporal grandeur.

Par. 194. l. 5. and were *very averse* from admitting any thing

they had not been used to, which they called innovation.] The mind of man is naturally framed to this aversion.

Par. 194. l. 13. most of the popular preachers, who had not looked into the *ancient learning*.] Ancient or modern learning were equally favourable or disfavourable to this doctrinal point, just as the controversialist was disposed to the *pro* or *con*.

Par. 196. l. 13. (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the *king*, the *church*, or his country.)] This is true; but then he was for an arbitrary *king* and an intolerant *church*.

Par. 196. l. 18. *He did court persons too little*.] He was rude, and brutal to all suitors, as appears from the historian's own account in his own life lately published. This ecclesiastical minister, who was as inferior in politics to cardinal Richelieu as he was superior in theology, could not comprehend an important truth, which Richelieu had learned, when he said, that "if he had not spent as much time in civilities as in business, he had undone his master."

Par. 196. l. 37. upon the *fame* of their incontinence.] A species of proof now, with reason, thought iniquitous.

Par. 201. l. 12. He published a discourse.] *Holy Altar, name, and thing*.

Par. 201. l. 15. (*though it abounded with too many light expressions*.)] The truth is, it is written with a great deal of wit and satire, which the historian calls *light expressions*. But surely these were not misplaced on a subject which the historian in the foregoing page confesses to be light and trivial.

Par. 202. l. 6. *men whose names were not much revered*.] Heylin.

Par. 203. l. 34. who well knew how to recompense *discourtesies*.] A *discourtesy* is certainly an injury, but the historian by that word here means *refusal of a favour*.

Par. 204. l. 1. And the revenue of too many of the court consisted principally in *inclosures*. Ibid. l. 7. And so he did a little too much countenance the commission for *depopulation*.] *Inclosures* make *depopulations* in villages, which, when the hands no longer employed in agriculture cannot find employment in manufactures, is certainly injurious to the public; when they can, it is as certainly beneficial. In sir Thomas More's time (that great enemy to *inclosures*) the depopulation was hurtful, but in Laud's it was useful to the public.

Par. 206. l. 13. This inflamed more men than were angry

before.] The resentment of the nobility on this occasion was surely most legitimate and reasonable.

Par. 207. l. 1. In the mean time the archbishop himself was *infinitely pleased with what was done.*] This appears from his Journal; on whose authority, I suppose, it is, that the historian makes the observation.

Par. 207. l. 20. and then drive him into choler, &c.] A fine picture of a well-trained courtier.

BOOK II.

Par. 6. l. 10. *in believing the pope to be Antichrist.*] This was never the court doctrine indeed; yet it was certainly a *great part of the religion* of the reformed, when the separation from Rome was made, to believe *that the pope was Antichrist.*

Par. 8. l. 1. The first canon defined and determined such an illimited *power and prerogative to be in the king, according to the pattern* (in express terms) *of the kings of Israel.*] The kings of Israel were *despotic*; was it only a surprise or suspicion therefore that the king aimed at arbitrary power?

Par. 8. l. 18. *thwarted their laws and customs.*] It thwarted the natural and civil rights of all communities, and was rank priestcraft.

Par. 9. l. 5. and *too much nourishment.*] Strange he should think *despotism* and *priestcraft* any *nourishment* at all to the state, or even the church.

Par. 9. l. 17. to mention any practice of *confession*, (which they looked upon as the strongest and most *inseparable limb* of Antichrist,) and to enjoin, that no presbyter should *reveal any thing he should receive in confession.*] And is it not a limb of popery?

Par. 10. l. 7. with all the *art and artifices* which administer jealousies of all kinds to those who were liable to be disquieted with them.] There needed no great artifice to do all this.

Par. 26. l. 9. and was *capable from that hour of any impression the king would have fixed upon him.*] A plain reproof of the court for not *fixing that impression.*

Par. 31. l. 16. which *remissness, to call it no worse.*] Which he might fairly have done.

Par. 32. l. 9. which proceeded from the *excellency of his*

nature, and his tenderness of blood.] It proceeded neither from *tenderness of blood* nor *excellency of nature*, but incapacity to prosecute any great enterprise. Laud knew the king better, when he said, *He knew not how to be, nor to be made great.*

Par. 46. l. 33. yet there was almost a general dislike of the war, both by the lords of the court and of the country; and they took this opportunity to communicate their murmurs to each other; none of the persons who were most maligned for their power and interest with the king being upon the place.] i. e. almost all the nobility of England, Laud and Strafford, and their creatures, being absent, had a dislike of this war. What possibly could occasion so general a dislike, when the Scottish nation was as generally hated, but their belief that the king intended to govern arbitrarily? and nothing could so facilitate that project as his conquest of Scotland. Hence their dislike of this expedition.

Par. 48. l. 14. *who loved the church well enough as it was twenty years before; and understood nothing that had been done in Scotland.*] This shews that if he wanted parts, he neither wanted honesty nor prudence.

Par. 48. l. 38. *till after the pacification was concluded.*] A stronger instance of the king's want of real abilities for government cannot be conceived, than his not securing Essex to his interest, which was so easy to be done. So far from that, as we see in the next page, though infinitely deserving, and singularly so throughout this whole affair, he was dismissed in the crowd, and soon after greatly affronted by the denial of a very natural and reasonable request.

Par. 52. l. 17. all which wrought very much upon his rough proud nature.] It would have wrought upon any nature.

Par. 53. l. 26. *The earl of Holland.*] A very worthless courtier raised by the queen.

Par. 54. l. 33. which afterwards produced many sad disasters.] Meaning Vane's minutes of the council-board, produced by his son to the destruction of Strafford.

Par. 55. l. 43. they made no longer scruple to impose what money they thought fit.] This was repaying the king in his own coin. He raised money in England without the consent of the people, and in Scotland the people raised money without his consent.

Par. 59. l. 24. and the necessity that required it.] Here again

the Scots paid the king in his own coin, pleading *necessity* to act against law, just as he had done in England.

Par. 61. l. 5. and that the *strongest remedies* must be provided to root out this mischief.] If you will believe some anecdotes published by Dr. Birch, the king had determined to strike off Lowden's head in the Tower without any form of process against him whatsoever.

Par. 61. l. 27. and such as loved the *peace and plenty* they were possessed of.] That is, it was believed at court that this *peace and plenty* would make men overlook the present dangerous state of that *liberty* which only could make their peace and plenty of any stability; but in this the courtiers were deceived.

Par. 63. l. 4. it proceeded in all respects in the same *unpopular* ways it had done: ship-money was levied with the same severity; and the same *rigour* used in ecclesiastical courts, without the least compliance with the *humour* of any man.] *Unpopular* for *unlawful*, as *rigour* for *persecution*; and to dislike these *unpopular ways* and *rigorous proceedings* is called *humour*.

Par. 64. l. 9. when very *few other men in any high trust were so*.] Because the keeper observed law, and the ministers violated it.

Par. 65. l. 1. These *digressions* have taken up too much time.] What digressions? There are none here. This would make me suspect that something is here omitted.

Par. 68. l. 17. summing up shortly, and sharply, all that most reflected upon the *prudence and the justice* of the government.] This was very artful; it was shewing his friends that a government so *imprudent* might be safely attacked for its injustices; and that they had nothing to fear from the *abilities* of those ministers whose exorbitances it was so necessary now to curb and control.

Par. 68. l. 32. in which he *then* excelled.] He afterwards lost this quality by overusing it. See what the historian says of him in his Life.

Par. 69. l. 1. *Though the parliament had not sat above six or seven days, and had managed all their debates, and their whole behaviour, with wonderful order and sobriety, the court was impatient that no advance was yet made towards a supply*.] Courtiers, and the friends of prerogative, have in all times blamed par-

liaments when the monarch by ill government has been brought to the distress of asking aid of them, that they would first begin with redress of grievances, before they gave a supply. A late eminent composer of the history of France, speaking of the assembly of the estates general after the battle of Poitiers, observes: “Il s'en falloit beaucoup que les députés des états apportassent à cette assemblée des dispositions convenables à la situation présente. La France avoit besoin d'un prompt secours, on parla d'abus et de réformation; il falloit rétablir les finances, on se plaignit de ceux, qui les avoient précédemment administrées. Il étoit nécessaire de réunir tous les ordres du royaume afin d'opposer des puissans efforts à un ennemi redoutable, et tous les corps divisés entre eux ne se montrèrent d'accord que pour faire éclater leurs murmures.”

Villaret. This, without doubt, is a public evil, but for this, like all the rest, the preceding bad administration is answerable. Long experience had shewn the oppressed people, that an arbitrary governor never redresses grievances out of conscience, but necessity. If therefore the friends of the people do not take the advantage of this necessity, but let the occasion slip, their grievances are never likely to be redressed. And it is remarkable, that the people, and the deputies of the people, who at that season in France, and at this in England, having got all the public credit, as they advanced in power, most horribly abused it in both kingdoms.

Par. 71. l. 34. (who were ready to give all that the king would ask, and indeed had little to give of their own.)] A court corrupt and beggarly.

Par. 72. l. 16. that Mr. Hambden, the most popular man in the house.] Here, the historian tells us, is a house of commons of the most excellent temper, and Mr. Hambden the most popular man in this house. I am much afraid the character he afterwards draws of this popular man does not do him justice.

Par. 73. l. 23. very much irreconciled him at court.] What a court was this, which would not accept of the services of its friends, though in its greatest distress, unless they supported all its former illegalities!

Par. 75. l. 26. if it were not in the proportion and manner

proposed in his majesty's message.] The king had a mind by this scheme of *selling* his claim to ship-money to leave this testimony of his having a *right* to it.

Par. 77. l. 7. nor could *any man imagine what offence* they had given, which put the king to that resolution.] He who supposed the king had no intention to invade the rights of parliament would indeed be puzzled to find out the *offence*. But they who suspected him of arbitrary views could not be at a loss in guessing at the *offence*, which was the disposition of this parliament to support, or rather to restore the rights of the people, though in a way that manifested all duty and reverence to the king.

Par. 79. l. 7. *declared with great anger, that he had never given him such authority.*] Why was not sir Harry Vane disgraced? Strafford hated him; either he was protected by the queen, or he had acted by the express directions of the king.

Par. 83. l. 32. not suspected by either of the *lords'* or the *ladies'* factions.] So here was a court *divided against itself*, when the utmost union, under the discredit of numberless public grievances, had been scarce sufficient to preserve it from its enemies.

Par. 88. l. 15. and to *leave the forces in Ireland.*] This was the most fatal as well as absurd step the king ever took since the beginning of the differences between him and his parliament. The superiority of Strafford's genius (who had brought Ireland into perfect subjection, and had modelled a numerous and well-disciplined army entirely devoted to him) must, *while he remained in Ireland*, have so dared both the parliament and the Scots, that neither of them would have ventured to rise in arms, while Strafford with his forces was hovering over both one and the other, on the south and north-east coasts of Ireland, and ready to fall upon them on their first motion, before they had raised a man for the service, or at least at hand to disperse any raw and undisciplined troops which they had hastily raised before he could reach them. But when he was brought into England, and at the head of the army in the second expedition against the Scots, his leaving that army on the pacification, and going up to parliament, was the second fatal step which ruined both him and his master. But this was against his own judgment, and the wonderful politics of his prince,

whereas the staying with the army would probably have saved both.

Par. 93. l. 13. to remove all other grievances but the *Scots*.] The Scots were certainly a grievance. But if the bearing with this assisted them to remove others, they acted not unwisely; and they must have been great grievances that made them not unwilling to bear with this, that was so near them, and so imminent.

Par. 97. l. 4. by a *new writ continued*.] This appears to be a mere infatuation in Laud.

Par. 97. l. 9. and therefore were sure to be condemned in the *worst*.] This is for the sake of the antithesis, or surely he could never *call that the worst of times* which had given a parliament of the high character he had just described, and afforded a people averse to arbitrary government. But he confounds times, and gives to the year forty the character of the year forty-eight.

Par. 98. l. 11. though I am persuaded their *numbers increased not*.] I believe he judged truly. It is persecution only that can *increase* an old sect.

Par. 98. l. 38. And for the most envious protection and countenance of that whole party.] When Laud was so intent on suppressing puritanism, why did he not curb these insolencies of the papists? But Laud was turned minister of state; and we see the papists were the ready instruments of the *most odious and most grievous* of the court projects.

Par. 101. l. 1. The earl of Strafford had for the space of almost six years entirely governed Ireland, where he had been *compelled*, upon reason of state, to exercise *many acts of power*.] Which is a *compulsion* of a minister's own creating, and therefore no excuse for illegal *acts of power*.

Par. 101. l. 11. When and why he was *called out of Ireland*.] This was one of the most fatal steps in the conduct of Charles the First. Had lord Strafford remained at the head of his well-disciplined army in Ireland, he had saved himself, his master, and his three kingdoms. For while he continued there, he kept Ireland in perfect subjection, and hung like a meteor over the other island, ready to burst upon the north or south of England, as either of them gave signs of a rebellious disposition: whereas by dissolving the greatest part of that army, and coming

singly to command new raised troops for the king against the Scots, that check being taken off, the three nations immediately flamed out into rebellion without control; and the first effects of that combustion was Strafford's ruin: it being remarkable, that agents from the three nations combined with equal fury in his destruction.

Par. 101. l. 47. and his *parts*.] When a dull man becomes disinclined to a man of parts, though it was not his parts that first gave the umbrage, yet it is that which shall fix and heighten the aversion.

Par. 102. l. 4. indeed was better skilled to make his master *great* abroad than gracious at home.] That is, by extending the prerogative beyond law, or, in other words, by assisting to make him arbitrary. For the Stewarts always being restrained by laws were lessened in the estimation of their fellow sovereigns.

Par. 102. l. 29. *looking upon what the law had intended for their protection and preservation, to be now applied to their destruction.*] The historian, who well understood the nature, and knew the change in the feudal tenures, seems to confess that the *court of wards* was now so *applied*. It is odd therefore he should speak of this *jewel of the crown* in the terms he does. For though the legal *right* subsisted after the *reason* had ceased, yet to compare it with what the *subject enjoyed of things most his own*, was giving it a character it by no means deserved.

Par. 103. l. 9. *He had more outfaced the law* in bold projects and pressures upon the people.] An admirable character of Charles the First's ministers and favourites, that they all *outfaced the law*, the difference was only from more to less.

Par. 103. l. 27. as the most *melancholic* of the other.] *Melancholic* for obnoxious.

Par. 106. l. 29. might have *proved of great use*.] This is very consistent with that species of knavery of which he is here insinuated to be guilty. The marquis desired this licence, not for the sake of the king, or of the Scots, but for his own sake. And when in pursuance of this licence he had secured that point, he was more disposed to the king's service than to the service of the covenanters.

Par. 119. l. 1. and *had somewhat of a judgment from Heaven in it*.] He could have said nothing worse of the arbitrary illegal actions of the court.

Par. 121. l. 10. that the calling so many *discontented*, or *disobliged*, or *disaffected* men together.] It is worth notice, that these *discontented*, *disobliged*, and *disaffected* men were the whole body of the English nobility. What then must the administration have been, to have put one estate of the legislature into this disposition! In what condition the other part was, we find on opening the parliament.

Par. 121. l. 12. *very few whereof had that affection and reverence* for the person of the king.] How was it possible they should have any *inclination* to a master who aspired to be absolute, or any *reverence* for one who knew so little how to become so!

Par. 125. l. 7. (though there had been some *inadvertencies* and *incogitancy* in the circumstances of the transaction.)] Strange! after what he had before told us of this transaction.

Par. 126. l. 6. *very loyal wishes for his majesty's prosperity.*] That is, success to his arbitrary schemes.

Par. 128. l. 15. so that the preacher reprehended the husband, governed the wife, chastised the children, and insulted over the servants, in the houses of the greatest men.] An admirable and just picture.

Par. 130. l. 33. without the consent or privity of *those* who were concerned.] Hyde, Falkland, &c.

Par. 130. l. 34. *disliked her absolute power with the king.*] If this was true, could it possibly be but that very reasonable jealousies must be entertained of the king?

Par. 130. l. 37. *Every man there.*] Is not this making the whole court a pack of rascals?

BOOK III.

Par. 3. l. 9. *talked now in another dialect* both of things and persons.] It was no wonder. The sudden dissolution of the foregoing parliament was enough to convince them that nothing but very powerful remedies could save the constitution, especially when they considered the circumstances with which that dissolution was attended; for we find in par. 20. one of the secretaries of state *signed warrants for searching the studies and papers of some of the members.*

Par. 5. l. 20. in which the lives as well as the fortunes of men had been disposed of *out of the common road of justice.*] Very soft; as if *justice* had been observed, though the *formalities* of it had been neglected.

Par. 9. l. 12. they *voted unanimously*.] Can there possibly be a stronger presumption of his enormous behaviour than this?

Par. 11. l. 8. without the mention of any one *crime*.] Meaning *criminal action*. The *crime* was *mentioned*, viz. high treason.

Par. 12. l. 6. that when the first heat (which *almost all men brought with them*) should be a little allayed.] What raised this universal heat but a wicked administration?

Par. 15. l. 15. *when, notwithstanding all their diversions*, that business was brought into debate.] This was done very dexterously by Hyde and Falkland. But the curious narrative of that transaction is omitted.

Par. 15. l. 18. if their rule were true, “that an endeavour to “alter the government by law, and to introduce an arbitrary “power, were treason,” &c.] Is not this a confession that the practices of the court were an endeavour to alter the government, &c.? A thing which the noble historian treats up and down in this work as the greatest of calumnies.

Par. 17. l. 6. *frighted away the lord keeper of the great seal of England*... Par. 18. l. 2. *for the lord Finch, it was visible he was in their favour*.] It appears by the omitted narrative, hinted at in the foregoing page, [par. 15.] (and which, since the chancellor's pieces of history were lodged at Oxford, has been discovered and transcribed by many,) it appears, I say, that Finch was not *frighted away* by the *reformers*, for he had made his peace with them; but *frighted away* by Hyde and Falkland, partly on that account, and partly to divert the storm from Laud and Strafford. Nor can what the historian here says of their frightening away Finch be reconciled to what he immediately subjoins conformable to that narrative; in this place,—*it was visible Finch was in their favour*.

Par. 18. l. 21. which, by the strict letter of the statute, the lawyers said, would have been very penal to him; i. e. *Windebank*.] What the historian says here of Windebank is fully confirmed by a variety of Letters in the Clarendon collection of State Papers now published.

Par. 20. l. 13. sir H. Vane, who was under the same charge, and against whom indeed that charge *was aimed*.] By Hyde and Falkland, I suppose, as in the case of Finch, and for the same reason.

Par. 20. l. 22. and so they were well content with his *escape*.] After this clear account, is it not odd he should introduce it,

(par. 18. l. 1.) by saying, he *could never yet learn the reason why they suffered secretary Windebank to escape their justice.*

Par. 22. l. 5. where indeed many *notable* sentences had passed.] *Notable*, a soft word for scandalous.

Par. 29. l. 1. many persons of wisdom and *gravity*.] The historian generally uses this word for *moderation, sobriety.*

Par. 41. l. 30. Men who were so *sagacious* in pursuing their point.] *Sedulous.*

Par. 51. l. 4. And though, it may be, there hath been too much *curiosity* heretofore used to discover men's particular opinions in particular points.] i. e. in plain English, engagements taken of men before they were admitted of the council.

Par. 54. l. 22. *insidiously*.] *Insidiously.*

Par. 84. l. 5. and *enjoyed the greatest tranquillity* of any man of the three kingdoms.] Is not the good treatment of this prudent, inoffensive, though able prelate, a strong proof that the enemies of the court were not so savage and ungenerous as the noble historian commonly represents them?

Par. 90. l. 31. many men choosing rather to lend their money than *to be known to have it*.] This could never have been the case if very illegal methods had not been employed by the court to rob them of it. When a citizen's property is safe, he always glories in the abundance of it.

Par. 104. l. 16. when the trial was according to law, before and *by his peers* only.] Alluding to a standing order of the house, in a declaration that the *bishops* were lords of parliament, but not *peers*, made a little before this time.

Par. 105. l. 12. "his having been present at the trial" was alleged and *urged to him, as an argument* for the passing the bill of attainder.] This shews that the charge was generally believed to have been very strongly proved; and indeed the misdemeanours, which they called *accumulate treason*, (a crime unknown to the law,) were fully proved against him.

Par. 111. l. 3. which indeed were powerful acts.] i. e. *tyrannous, as manifesting a nature excessively imperious.*

Par. 116. l. 5. since it had been reviewed by his majesty, and his privy-council here, upon an appeal from the lord viscount Ely, (the degraded lord chancellor,) and upon a solemn hearing there, which took up many days, it had received a confirmation.] It was strange that one of the earl's great abilities should urge

this plea, which tended the more to enrage his enemies against him as a favourite, and against his master, as the protector of him in his iniquity. These two cases, the playing with the life of one peer and with the property of another, was highly criminal in a viceroy.

Par. 138. l. 24. by reason some of the committee, who were intrusted to prepare the charge against the earl of Strafford, and consequently were privy to that secret, were *fallen from them.*] Lord Digby. This paper was stolen from the committee; it was never known by whom, till after seizing the king's cabinet at Naseby, when this paper was found to have been put into the king's hands by Digby at the time of the trial.

Par. 143. l. 6. to complaints . . . against the ceremonies, which had been in *constant practice since the reformation, as well as before.*] An odd apology (if it be the historian's) for the *ceremonies*, that they were *in constant practice before the reformation; i. e.* taken from the popish superstitions.

Par. 144. l. 7. he did not *discountenance notoriously* those of the clergy who were unconformable.] By *discountenance notoriously*, is meant, put the laws in execution against them. And this is said in diminution of his good character.

Par. 145. l. 5. and some other of the *less formal* and more popular prelates.] By *less formal*, we are to understand less *furious*. Such as Wren and his fellows.

Par. 148. l. 13. that they seldom carried any thing which directly *opposed the king's interest.*] This scandalous character of the bench the historian seems to insinuate is but too true a one.

Par. 150. l. 14. for that they as the clergy were the *third estate*, and being taken away, there was nobody left to represent the clergy.] This was once true, but not so at this time. I have explained this matter at large elsewhere.

Par. 150. l. 21. if the bishops were taken from sitting in the house of peers, there was nobody who could pretend to *represent the clergy.*] They are now represented by the house of commons.

Par. 151. l. 10. and that *he had heard many of the clergy protest, that they could not acknowledge that they were represented by the bishops.*] Without doubt this was amongst the

facetious parts of lord Falkland's speech, which his friend here speaks of.

Par. 155. l. 24. that this *mortification* might have mended their constitution.] This word, though in itself proper on the occasion, gives an equivoque when following the two verses of Ovid.

Par. 156. l. 33. and others, as *uningeniously* declaring.] ingenuously.

Par. 160. l. 2. "to give Mr. Hyde *public thanks for the service* he had done the house."] Mr. Hyde, in his Life, gives a pleasant account how this *service* was resented by his landlord at York, on his first resorting to the king there.

Par. 161. l. 15. want of temper, in the prosecution of their own happiness.] i. e. restoration of violated liberty.

Par. 161. l. 21. that he had proceeded with *more passion* in many things than he ought to have done.] It is true, that in this prosecution the house of commons exposed his *passions* to render him odious, but they were his *principles* which they exposed to render him criminal. By these it appeared he laboured to make the king *arbitrary*, which Laud, in his history of his own troubles, calls making the king *great*. Of this crime he was certainly guilty. But it is as certain, of whatsoever species it is, it does not come within the statute of treasons of Edward III.

Par. 165. l. 18. "That the king was obliged in conscience to *conform himself*, and his own understanding, to the advice and conscience of his parliament."] Which in other words was taking away the king's negative voice. And therefore this *public conscience* was as absurd an idea as it was a wicked one.

Par. 168. l. 1. Some principal officers of the army, who were members of the house of commons, &c.] Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, Piercy, Jermyn, Goring.

Par. 168. l. 15. and depended upon *their* interest in.] i. e. the interest of these officers.

Par. 170. l. 54. are still attempting *new diminutions of your majesty's just regalities*.] So that his concessions were the parting with some of the rights of his *regalities*, which but ill accords with what they say in the beginning of the petition of the *Reformation of distempers in church and commonweal*.

Par. 172. l. 3. others of the army, who had expressed very

brisk resolutions towards the service.] The service was evidently no other than to bring up the army to overawe the leaders in parliament, if not the parliament.

Par. 172. l. 7. all persons obliging themselves by an *oath of secrecy.*] If no more than defending Whitehall from the rabble, though that more properly belonged to the civil magistrates, why an oath of secrecy?

Par. 173. l. 1. At the first meeting, the *person.*] Goring.

Par. 175. l. 11. and would not consent to the extending and *extorting conclusions, which did not naturally flow from the premises.*] From the very *premises* in the petition itself, the *conclusion* of overawing the parliament certainly flowed naturally. Goring had a mind the petitioners should speak out amongst themselves, which finding them shy to do, he was resolved they should not make use of his bold advice to his prejudice, and so revealed the whole plot, for a plot it was, as appeared by the oaths of secrecy.

Par. 176. l. 1. But as they thought not fit (as I said before) to publish this whole discovery till near three months after, so they made extraordinary *use of it by parts*, from the instant that they received the secret; it being always their custom, *when they found the heat and distemper of the house, &c.*] Without doubt they made the best use of their enemies' indiscretions, as well as of their criminal confederacies. And who could blame them?

Par. 176. l. 26. And in this progress there sometimes *happened strange accidents for the confirmation of their credit.*] No wonder, when they only aggravated, and did not invent those plots against the parliament.

Par. 178. l. 21. there had been some *idle discourse in a tavern between some officers, about raising men for Portugal.*] And yet it appears that two courtiers, Piercy and Jermyn, were the encouragers of these *idle discourses.*

Par. 179. l. 13. resolved not to trust themselves with such judges.] Piercy and Jermyn.

Par. 192. l. 15. He was a wise man, and would have proposed and advised moderate courses; but was not incapable, *for want of resolution*, of being carried into violent ones.] By this it appears, that though this great man had undertaken to serve the crown, yet it was his purpose, if he found he could not bring his party to what he thought *moderate courses*, he would not break

with them as Strafford had formerly done, and devote himself to the court. Whether this purpose, which the historian calls *want of resolution*, proceeded from a point of honour to his party, or a point of duty to his country, is uncertain.

Par. 194. l. 27. had the *uncharitableness* to believe that he intended to betray his master.] It is very *uncharitable* to think, because it is thinking without grounds, that a man would give advice to counteract what he deems to be his interest. Now lord Say thought it to be his interest to enter into engagements with the king, to do him service for a reward proposed. He would not therefore designedly defeat the service which was to procure the reward.

Par. 197. l. 3. *and a rabble of many thousand people besieged that place.*] Very surprising, after all these tumults, that the king did not prorogue the parliament to Oxford or Winchester, as was the wont in times of pestilence. But the severity of parliament against the king's servants, and his imbecility in their protection, intimidated them from doing their duty in advice.

Par. 200. l. 11. *writ a most pathetic letter to the king.*] Carte, in his History, has an idle story to persuade us that this was a forged letter, fabricated by his enemies. But the papers of his confidant Ratcliffe, published amongst the collection of Strafford's Letters, confute this suggestion; for he who should best know speaks of this *pathetic letter* as a genuine one.

Par. 205. l. 11. Of all his passions, his pride was most predominant.] His ambition, pride, and appetite for revenge, were all exorbitant. His parts were of the first rate, and these solely directed to the gratification of his passions. What wonder then, when men found him in the station of prime minister, they should never think themselves safe while he continued there?

Par. 210. l. 4. *and upon the undertaking of persons he then most trusted.*] Those whom he most trusted must have been under the same *agony*, or rather infatuation with the king, or a word or two might have been added that would easily have passed; whereby something of the evil of this bill had been guarded against. The clause I mean is, that after the act had said, *this parliament should not be dissolved without their own consent*, it had been added, *or by the death of the king*, on which, by the constitution, a dissolution ensued. Not that I suppose this would

have prevented the king's murder, in the state things then were; but it would probably have prevented things from coming to that state, by a care and use they would then have had of the king's welfare.

Par. 211. l. 1. After the *passing these two bills, the temper and spirit of the people, both within and without the walls of the two houses, grew marvellous calm and composed.*] Without doubt the master, by being untrue to himself, had destroyed all trust his servants could repose in him; and the *sovereign*, by giving up his prerogative, enabled his subjects to become his masters. After this he could expect nothing but what he found, his friends become perfidious, and his enemies implacable; the just reward of uxorious infatuation.

Par. 214. l. 3. which made *him* believe it depended very much on *him*.] The king. Lord Essex.

Par. 219. l. 1. This discourse, so methodically and *confidently averred.*] They might fairly as well as *confidently aver* this, since some of the officers, by the historian's own account, had as desperate intentions as are here imputed to them, particularly Goring and Piercy, if their own confessions were to be credited.

Par. 220. l. 15. that a fifth part of those who were accessories to that infamous prodigality were neither *favourers of their ends, or well-wishers* of their nation.] Certainly not; but they considered the Scots as useful instruments for recovering their own liberties from the exorbitant exercise of the prerogative.

Par. 226. l. 17. "that there was a design to bring up the army to force the parliament."] Without doubt this matter, even as here represented, gave sufficient cause to all good men to mistrust the king's good intentions to public liberty.

Par. 228. l. 31. *concluded*, that he had some notable temptation in conscience.] And who can say they concluded illogically? unless what this great historian is ever too apt to take for granted, the declaring at this time against the court was a certain mark of corruption of heart.

Par. 229. l. 11. but then obliged him, first to draw such a letter &c.] Surely a very improbable state of the fact.

Par. 230. l. 10. But now that it could not be *dissolved without their consent.*] This was indeed the natural consequence of that

monstrous impolitic concession of the crown, and might, with a number of other evils, one would think, have been easily foreseen. It is pretended it was foreseen; but the historian himself insinuates, that the king then stood so ill with the people, that his denying this bill would have occasioned a general insurrection. Admitting even this, yet true policy required that the king should have risked every thing, rather than consent to have this branch of the prerogative thus wrested from him.

Par. 233. l. 1. It was wondered at by many, and sure was a great misfortune to the king, that he chose not rather at that time (though the business was only to disband) to constitute the earl of Essex general of his army, than the earl of Holland.] Which without doubt was to be laid upon the queen, whose favourite Holland then was. Essex had some worth; Holland none at all: he lived like a knave, and died like a fool.

Par. 236. l. 11. As they had *lost all confidence in the affections of the English army.*] If the parliament *had lost all confidence in the affections of the English army*, this is a proof that at least they believed the plot, of which the historian tells us they made so good use. The truth is, that this fixed jealousy of the leaders in parliament against the king, was not so much pretended as the noble historian all along insinuates. Men can never entirely divest themselves of their nature, not even politicians; and these leaders, conscious of all the malice in their hearts against the king and monarchy, became naturally suspicious that he knew more of them than he did, and consequently that he was always working against them, as they against him.

Par. 251. l. 11. But others believed, he had been so far guilty of what had been done amiss, that he would neither have been able or willing to preserve the foundation of that power, which *could hardly have forgotten by what means it had been oppressed.*] This has the air of a confirmation of what the king's enemies appeared most to have dreaded in all their transactions with him, his unforgiving temper.

Par. 253. l. 18. was the advice and desire of the committee from the parliament of Ireland.] Most of them papists. [See par. 93. of this book.]

Par. 264. l. 10. But the taking it away was an act very popular; which, it may be, was not then more politic, than the reviving

it may be thought hereafter, when the present distempers shall be expired.] This is a lesson for the court only.

Par. 271. l. 6. will be hereafter acknowledged, by an incorrupted posterity, to be everlasting monuments of a princely and fatherly affection to his people.] It is true these concessions were a ground for the parliament's satisfaction; but so far from being any mark of the king's fatherly affection, that his ungraceful manner of yielding made them lose all confidence in him, or satisfaction in his concessions.

Appendix D. par. 2. It began now to be observed, &c.] *This portion the bishop has copied from the MS. of the Life and added the following remark:* This is one of the most curious and instructing narratives in the whole history; apparently omitted in the printed history by the editors of it, (lord Clarendon and lord Rochester, sons of the author,) in civility to lord Nottingham, (son of the chancellor of that name, and of the family of lord keeper Finch,) at that time much connected in party with lord Nottingham.

BOOK IV.

Par. 2. l. 13. and having received some information, from sir Jacob Ashley and sir John Coniers, *of some idle passages* in the late tampering with the army to petition, which had not been before heard of.] Without doubt idle enough, but not the less dangerous for being *idle*, because the authors were known to be desperate persons. As to Holland's motives for communicating the intelligence, it certainly was not better than what the historian represents it; for he was one of the most corrupt courtiers of the most corrupt side of the court; I mean the queen's side.

Par. 3. l. 16. the chief rulers amongst them first designing what they thought fit to be done, and the *rest concluding* any thing lawful, that they thought, in order to the doing or compassing the same.] By the way, this shews the general opinion which the country gentlemen had of the probity of their leaders.

Par. 4. l. 40. comprehending as well the archbishop of Canterbury, as *those* who at that time had no contempt of the security they reaped thereby.] i. e. those who invited the Scots into England.

Par. 9. l. 16. because the bishop of Lincoln, as dean of West-

minster, had formed a prayer for that occasion, and enjoined it to be read on that day in those churches [where he had jurisdiction]; which they liked not: both as it was formed, and formed by *him*.] As a bishop; otherwise he was not personally obnoxious to them, but rather in their good graces, both as a capital enemy of the archbishop's, and an opposer of the ecclesiastical innovations.

Par. 13. l. 21. (and I am confident, there was not, from the beginning of this parliament, *one* orthodox or learned man recommended by them to any church in England.)] As incredible as this may appear, it may be seen from the lists of these lecturers, occasionally to be found in the historical tracts of that time, to be very true; and some of the strongest marks of the ill intentions of the leaders in parliament.

Par. 14. l. 23. told them whatsoever the king himself had said to him.... as a person true to him; and when, it is *very probable, he was not much delighted with the proceedings at Westminster*.] Something must have been very wrong in the intentions and secret purposes of the king and court, when the revealing their secrets was so hurtful to the king's credit. For we may observe, that the historian only charges Holland with betraying secrets, not with inventing tales to the king's discredit.

Par. 14. l. 51. and by reason of the unfaithfulness of her *nearest servants*.] Lady Carlisle, the Erinnys of that time.

Par. 20. l. 27. but rather desired, "to kill them both;" which *he frankly undertook to do*.] This takes extremely from Mount-rose's heroism.

Par. 20. l. 29. but the king, abhorring that expedient, for his own security, advised, "that the *proofs might be prepared for the parliament*." This was an unjust as well as an imprudent step, after the act of oblivion and pacification.

Par. 31. l. 9. and that the rebels published and declared, that they had the king's authority for *all they did; which calamity, though without the least shadow or colour of truth, &c.*] How could the historian say this, who well knew that the Irish rebels produced the broad seal fixed to an instrument in which was this pretended authority? The historian, in his vindication of the marquis of Ormond, explains that affair, and says, it

necessitated the king to put the prosecution of this war under the parliament's direction. On this account I suspect something has been struck out in this History, by the editor's not explaining that matter; for, contrary to the historian's usual custom, we have here no reason given why the king made so fatal a step.

Par. 38. l. 15. and others as unskillfully, finding that in former times, when the religion of the state *was a vital part of its policy.*] This comes to no more than this, that in the times of popery the church shared the *imperium* with the state.

Par. 38. l. 39. I could never yet know, why the doctors of the civil laws were more of kin to the bishops, or the church, than the common lawyers were.] No; but they were more akin to popery; and this the archbishop's enemies said he very well knew. He was an enemy indeed to a pope at Rome, but not to a pope at Lambeth. Besides, the civil law is much more propitious to arbitrary rule than the common.

Par. 40. l. 30. that these knowing and discerning men (for such I must confess there have been) should believe it possible for them to flourish.] Selden.

Par. 41. l. 4. who seem now, by the fury and iniquity of the time, to stand upon the ground they have won, and to be masters of the field; and, it may be, wear some of the trophies and spoils they have ravished from the oppressed.] Whitlock, Maynard, Widrington.

Par. 42. l. 7. and very few followers, who had either *affection to his person*, or respect of his honour.] It was no great wonder he had not the *affection* of his court servants, for he did every thing ungraciously, even to the conferring graces. And it is remarkable, that the affection borne to him, was by them who had had no relation to the court, but had gone over to his service out of a sense of honour and justice, when the ample reparation he had made to his people would not be accepted by the leaders in parliament. And the king in his distresses grew more gracious and affable to his servants, and then indeed began to gain their *affections*.

Par. 47. l. 5. that he should have the entire obedience of that nation, *to preserve his full rights and regalities in England.*] This was the true secret of the king's concessions to the Scotch nation, that he might have them the instruments of enslaving England.

Par. 47. l. 21. (for sure he was then *perfectly irreconciled to the whole nation*.)] Had not the historian fairly explained the secret, the king's concessions had been totally unaccountable and incredible, as he *was perfectly irreconciled* (the historian says) to the whole nation.

Par. 48. l. 1. But his majesty never considered, or not soon enough, that they could not reasonably hope to keep what they had so ill got, but by the same arts by which they were such gainers.] The impolicy of the king's conduct admirably exposed. The injustice of it he leaves to others to find out, or rather chooses to disguise it, that it should not be found out.

Par. 50. l. 10. to be now welcomed home with such a volume of reproaches, for what *others* had done amiss, and which he *himself* had reformed.] Very sophistical. The grievances and the redress of them being necessarily to be ascribed to one and the same author,

Par. 77. l. 1. But the rule the king gave himself, &c.] The impolicy of the king's conduct admirably shewn. From this, and many other instances of ill conduct of the like kind, it appears, that the king's abilities (for abilities he had) were of a private, not a public sort.

Par. 80. l. 30. and that he would reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how *powerful and near soever*.] The queen's.

Par. 88. l. 11. and therefore this stratagem was used, to transfer the power of impressing men *from the king to themselves*; and to get the king, that he might be now able to raise men for Ireland, *to disenable himself from pressing* upon any other occasion.] By this it appears that the court understood it to be part of the prerogative to press. What the historian says of *transferring the power from the king to themselves* is invidiously remarked. It was *transferring* it (as was fit) from the king to the whole legislature.

Par. 91. l. 1. Hereupon, Mr. Saint-John, the king's solicitor, (*a man that might be trusted in any company*.)] i. e. his party had no reason to take umbrage at his procuring a private audience of the king, so firmly attached as he was to their interest.

Par. 94. l. 41. by cozening them into opinions which might hereafter be applicable to their ends, &c.] All this is very obscurely expressed; but the meaning is, that the leaders now

altered their method of proceeding. They had till now proceeded more directly to their end. They now began to use obliquities and detours to compass it.

Par. 95. l. 3. *if there had not been too many concurrent causes, might be thought the sole cause and ground of all the mischiefs which ensued.*] This is very ill expressed; but the meaning is obvious,—that had there been no other cause, this would have appeared sufficient, &c.

Par. 104. l. 10. *the presses swelled with the most virulent invectives against them.*] Where Milton most distinguished himself.

Par. 116. l. 10. and one of the justices of the peace, who, according to his oath, had executed that writ, was committed to the Tower for that offence.] This act was outrageous as any the king had ever committed, and fully betrayed the spirit of the leaders.

Par. 121. l. 33. under the names of *roundheads.*] Their hair, according to the city fashion, being cropt round and close.

Par. 122. l. 22. The lord Falkland was wonderfully beloved by all who knew him.] Yet this man the court had suffered to escape them till their necessities forced him upon them.

Par. 123. l. 9. nor had *any veneration for the court, but only such a loyalty to the person of the king as the law required from him.*] Nothing could be said worse of the court, than this account of the esteem in which lord Falkland held it.

Par. 123. l. 11. And he had naturally a wonderful reverence for parliaments, as believing them most solicitous for justice, the violation whereof, in the least degree, he could *not forgive any mortal power.*] This is a covert insinuation, that lord Falkland thought resistance lawful, which the historian did not.

Par. 126. l. 1. The king at the same time resolved to remove *another officer.*] St. John, solicitor general.

Par. 126. l. 38. (though in very few days he did very fatally *swerve* from it.)] By the influence of the queen.

Par. 127. l. 1. By what *hath been said before*, it appears, &c.] I don't know where this is to be met with in the preceding account. It looks as if something concerning Digby was omitted.

Par. 127. l. 39. and so his majesty being satisfied, both in the *discoveries he made of what had passed*, and in his professions for the future.] This is the severest thing he ever suffered him-

self to say of his old enemy, and it is said very sily. It must be owned his proceedings would have justified greater severity, which Digby's conduct would have abundantly supplied.

Par. 127. l. 52. which he was *very luxuriant in promising to do, and officious enough in doing as much as was just.*] These two qualities very rarely meet in the same character, and yet they are not contrary or inconsistent.

Par. 128. l. 6. and very few men of *so great parts are, upon all occasions, more counsellable than he.*] The historian takes notice how predominant vanity was in this lord. Now a *vain man of parts* is easily counsellable, a *proud man of parts* not so.

Par. 130. l. 34. and *too little gravity for a bishop.*] i. e. too much wit; for indeed the discourse alluded to (called *the Holy Altar, name and thing*) abounds with it. But if one considers the very trifling nature of that, then very popular subject, it will be confessed the bishop treated it as it deserved, and in a way most likely to bring it down to its just value in the common estimation. Which was a thing most to be wished.

Par. 132. l. 4. whereas there was *not indeed the least shadow of truth* in the whole relation.] I suppose the noble historian speaks this of his own knowledge, as being one of the council at the *meeting*. The confidence with which he tells the whole story shews it.

Par. 134. l. 5. Some had much kindness for him, not only as a known enemy to the archbishop of Canterbury, but as a supporter of those opinions and those persons which were *against the church itself.*] Nothing of this appears in that famous book, of *Holy Altar, name and thing*, unless by the *church* be meant the innovations brought in by Laud.

Par. 134. l. 11. with all the *malice and bitterness imaginable*, against the archbishop, then in prison.] It must be remembered he had been cruelly and unjustly persecuted by Laud.

Par. 135. l. 12. and so betrayed a *fundamental right* of the whole order.] A fundamental right it certainly was, but it had been given up long before Williams was born.

Par. 136. l. 17. yet his public conscience, as a king, &c.] This was very vile; and upon the vile and false principle that morals and true politics do not coincide.

Par. 137. l. 1. *This was the argumentation of that unhappy casuist.*] This likewise I must needs think, from the positive

manner of telling, the historian had a certain knowledge of, from the information of the king himself.

Par. 143. l. 12. and even that clause of declaring all acts null, which had been or should be done in their absence, in defence of which no man then durst open his mouth, will be thought both *good law and good logic; not that the presence of the bishops in that time was so essential, that no act should pass without them.*] But their *presence* is thus *essential* on the historian's principle, that the bishops constitute a distinct estate in parliament. But the principle is false. If they did constitute a distinct estate, they must have a *negative voice*, as every other of the distinct estates have. Their having it not, shews they are no such distinct estate. As for the rest of the historian's reasoning concerning *force*, it is certainly right.

Par. 144. l. 30. will be looked upon as a *determination of that injustice, impiety, and horror, &c.*] This, it must be owned, is said with great truth.

Par. 145. l. 6. that they should, in such a storm, &c.] Noble.

Par. 146. l. 21. so that the angry party, who were *no more treated with to abate their fury.*] i. e. invited or bought off by the court.

Par. 147. l. 13. and, whilst the earl of Strafford was his prisoner, did many offices not becoming the trust he had from the king, and *administered much of the jealousy* which they had of his majesty.] From hence it appears Balfour had been tampered with to connive at Strafford's escape.

Par. 147. l. 18. but to do it with his own consent, that there might be no *manifestation of displeasure.*] For a *manifestation of displeasure* would have supported the truth of Balfour's information of such tampering.

Par. 147. l. 45. but he being not at that time in town, and the other having some secret reason . . . to fill that place in the instant with a man *who might be trusted*; he suddenly resolved upon this gentleman, as one who would be faithful to him for the obligation, and *execute any thing he should desire or direct.*] To keep the five members safe whom it was determined to arrest.

Par. 153. l. 1. The accused persons, upon information and intelligence what his majesty intended to do.] By lady Carlisle.

Par. 179. l. 1. As it had these and many other advantages and helps to be rich, so it was looked upon too much of late time as

a common stock not easy to be exhausted, and *as a body not to be grieved by ordinary acts of injustice*; and therefore, it was not only a resort, in all cases of necessity, for the sudden borrowing great sums of money, in which they were commonly too good merchants for the crown, but it was *thought reasonable*, upon any specious pretences, *to avoid the security that was at any time given for money so borrowed.*] Could any thing be worse said of the court, or more in excuse for the indisposition of the city towards it?

Par. 180. l. 8. *and a fine of fifty thousand pounds* imposed upon the city.] A sufficient cause of indisposition.

Par. 180. l. 20. so that, at the beginning of the parliament, the city was as ill affected *to the court as the country was.*] And for the same reason—the acts of tyranny and injustice exercised over all.

Par. 196. l. 8. assuring him, that if they two went, they should be *both murdered* at Hampton-court.] The earl of Essex was no fool. What an idea must this give us of the king's known character!

Par. 203. l. 35. through their sides the judgment and care of the petitioners and others were wounded, &c.] Who struck the first stroke, whether the king or the parliament, is a trifling question.

Par. 218. l. 43. But even that attempt had been too great for the solitary estate the king was at that time in; which was most naturally to have been improved by standing upon his guard, and denying all that was in his *power to deny.*] For at this time the historian supposes, and truly, that he had granted all that, as lovers of liberty and friends to the constitution, they ought to demand or expect.

Par. 233. l. 5. *by the mere mention of privilege of parliament.*] Not by the mere mention. I rather think it was by those notorious breaches of privilege so often committed by K. J. and K. C. in imprisoning the members.

Par. 236. l. 19. and no doubt will determine this digression to be the most unparalleled and capital breach of those privileges which hath been yet attempted to be made.] Without doubt they were. But the fatal effect, when the tide turned, of the court's long invasion of the parliament's legal privileges.

Par. 241. l. 7. he being resolved only to deny those things, the

granting whereof *would alter the fundamental laws.*] The first able and wise thing the king did, was making a stand in this place. And after so many satisfactory concessions, it enabled him, when the appeal was made to the sword, to divide the kingdom with his parliament, which before those concessions he could not do; and which, after granting away the power of the militia, he would never have dared to attempt.

Par. 267. l. 1. The cry therefore of the poor and needy, your poor petitioners, is, that such persons . . . may be forthwith publicly declared, to the end they may *be made manifest.*] After this, with what face can our present republicans talk of the purity of the intentions of those patriots who set these petitioning beggars at work?

Par. 267. l. 12. which we hope will remove from us our distractive fears, and *prevent that, which apprehension will make the wisest and peaceablest men to put in execution.*] Here was a very early intimation of the commonwealth they afterwards erected.

Par. 277. l. 14. “and that there was a decay and deadness of “trade, and *want and poverty* growing upon the whole kingdom.”] The riches of the city and king soon afterwards appeared from the immense sums the parliament drained from them.

Par. 280. l. 27. *And shortly after that discovery to her majesty, those persons before mentioned were accused of high treason.*] So the queen was the author of that counsel which again made all desperate when things were in a very hopeful way.

Par. 280. l. 43. the same person first telling her what was in projection against her, and then returning intelligence of any expressions and distemper *he* might easily observe upon the apprehension which the other begat.] It was the countess of Carlisle.

Par. 281. l. 10. to the rancour of which the *most precious balm* of the crown must be applied.] The militia.

Par. 282. l. 23. to that petition his majesty returned this answer: “That he was willing to apply a remedy,” &c.] To allay the queen’s fears, the king again dishonoured himself, and made his condition worse, by these two answers concerning the *five members* and the *militia*.

Par. 292. l. 11. *neither did he believe that there were such men*

in nature.] If it was true that he granted such no passes, I should easily believe with the king that they were not in nature; for the forgers of the first lie would hardly stick at the second.

Par. 293. l. 27. Upon these considerations, and some *other imaginations upon the prospect of affairs.*] i.e. his hopes of being at the head of an army in the north.

Par. 299. l. 1. However those of greatest trust about the king.] I suppose he means Colepepper and Falkland.

Par. 315. l. 25. And I saw Mr. Hambden, shortly after this discovery, *take him in his arms*, telling him, "his soul rejoiced to see that God had put it in his heart to take the right way."] This fact, which no one can doubt the truth of, very much shakes the opinion which the whigs pretend to have of the real patriotism of Hambden.

Par. 317. l. 15. by which many might understand . . . his own coming in person to the house of commons on the fourth of January, which begat so unhappy a misunderstanding *between him and his people.*] This shews how much that action alarmed the nation.

Par. 332. l. 29. The cause they had to doubt that the late design, styled *the queen's pious intention.*] To this the king, in his answer, [see book V. par. 2.] says nothing.

Par. 340. l. 50. *that no men ought to petition for the government established by law, because he had already his wish.*] Mr. Hyde was then in the house, so there could be no mistake as to the fact. But those who reasoned thus must have been sunk into the very dregs of faction.

Par. 343. l. 11. *it is a high thing to tax a king with breach of promise.*] How many had this unfortunate king broke since his accession!

Par. 344. l. 22. *Have I violated your laws?*] Sure he had in many instances since his accession to the crown. He must mean then the laws he had passed in this parliament.

Par. 357. l. 1. Then they sent those propositions digested into a bill to the king, with such clauses of power to them, and diminution of his own, that, upon the matter, he put the making a peace with the rebels *there out of his own power.*] Yet he afterwards made a peace with them without consent of parliament. To which it will be said, the parliament was then become his enemies. This is true; but a king's stipulation by *bill* is not

with the particular members of parliament, but with his whole people. However, had his treaties with the Irish rebels in his distresses at home been public, open, and avowed, I think he might be justified; the advantage he gave the parliament in this affair, was his doing it obliquely and secretly, while he denied it publicly, and made open professions to the contrary: yet even this the untoward situation of his affairs unavoidably forced him upon.

BOOK V.

Par. 6. l. 10. but was confident, no sober honest man in his kingdoms could believe, that he was so desperate, or so senseless, to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this his kingdom in sudden distraction and ruin, but *his own name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy.*] If he really thought that the merely bringing in strangers to defend his invaded rights would thus affect his character, what must he afterwards think would be the consequence with regard to his memory, when he negotiated for the service of a rebel army of Irish murderers!

Par. 7. l. 6. or force them to apply themselves to the use of any other power than what the law had given them: the which he *always intended* should be the measure of his own power, and expected it should be the rule of his subjects' obedience.] How could he say this!

Par. 11. l. 32. *above all*, . . . "that the rebellion in Ireland was fomented, and countenanced at least, by the queen, that good terms might be got for the catholics in England."] This would further confirm one in the opinion that something is omitted in that place of the first volume, where the king gives the management of the Irish war to the parliament.

Par. 12. l. 1. And the truth is, (*which I speak knowingly*,) at that time, the king's resolution was to shelter himself wholly under the law.] I suppose this was determined of by the counsel of Hyde, Colepepper, and Falkland.

Par. 12. l. 7. presuming that *the king and the law together* would have been strong enough for any encounter that could happen.] They had been so long strangers, and now acted in conjunction so awkwardly, that the people could not be brought to think that they were yet thoroughly reconciled to one another.

Par. 24. l. 7. it being our resolution, upon observation of the

mischief which then grew by *arbitrary power*. . . hereafter to keep the rule ourself.] This was very ingenuous, and should have given the parliament confidence in what he promised to do thereafter.

Par. 31. l. 15. Indeed no man could speak in the justification of either of them, yet no man thought them both *equally culpable*.] The difference certainly was, that one of them was one of the best, and the other one of the worst men of his time.

Par. 60. l. 8. to the sincerity of which profession he *called God to witness*, with this further assurance, that he would *never consent, upon whatsoever pretence, to a toleration of the popish profession there*.] He afterwards in a treaty with them did consent to a toleration.

Par. 69. l. 6. *his life, when it was most pleasant, being nothing so precious to him, as it was and should be to govern and preserve his people with honour and justice*.] When the king said this of the *past* to men who were well acquainted with the *past*, how could they believe him in what he said of the future?

Par. 150. l. 11. who very well saw and felt, that the king had not only to a degree wound himself out of that labyrinth in which four months before they had involved him, with their privileges, fears, and jealousies.] The labyrinth in which the king had involved himself was of his own and his father's making, and the late extricating himself from it, which indeed he had done, was by restoring the nation's rights by a number of salutary laws.

Par. 150. l. 31. for, *besides their presumption in endeavouring to search what the scripture itself told them was unsearchable, the heart of the king*.] A reflection unworthy this great historian, and fitter for one of these declarations to the people.

Par. 150. l. 38. without some *overt, unlawful act*.] His administration in the first fourteen years of his reign.

Par. 150. l. 40. and therefore, to declare that the king intended *to make war against his parliament*.] And yet, after all, it was the king's intention, and a just one, to reduce the factious to reason.

Par. 153. l. 12. and, whosoever considers that the nature of men, especially of *men in authority*, is inclined rather to commit two errors than to retract one.] The peculiar reason of this

greater propensity in men in authority is, that a confessed error tends to lessen the just weight they should preserve, therefore they endeavour to cover it by another.

Par. 153. l. 31. I am confident, with very good warrant, that many men have from their souls abhorred every article of this rebellion.] Hollis, and the heads of the presbyterian party.

Par. 154. l. 1. a man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation, that upon this occasion considers the method of *God's justice*.] This is one of the great uses of civil history.

Par. 154. l. 23. for many of those who were the principal makers of the first pit are so far from falling into it, that they have been the chiefest diggers of the second ditch, in which so many have been confounded.] Such as the earls of Holland, Pembroke, and others.

Par. 173. l. 1. They said, they did not conceive that numbers did make an assembly unlawful, but when either *the end* or manner of their carriage should be *unlawful*.] *The end* was unlawful, intimidating, and putting a force upon the members of the two houses, whom the mob called *malignants*.

Par. 176. l. 26. yet in *none of them had* they bereaved his majesty of any just, necessary, or profitable prerogative of the crown.] It is true, but they were asking for one that did, viz. the militia.

Par. 180. l. 14. but they could not, in wisdom and fidelity to the commonwealth, do that, *till he should choose such counsellors and officers* as might order and dispose it to the public good.] First, they said they could not settle his revenue till such and such acts were passed for the security of the subject. Well, those acts were passed. Why then is not the revenue [settled?] Why now truly they could not do it till his evil counsellors were removed, or in other words, till he had surrendered himself up to them bound and captive.

Par. 182. l. 4. These objections....for which it was intended.] An insolent mockery.

Par. 184. l. 1. For their votes of the fifteenth and sixteenth of March, they said, if the matter of those votes were according to law, &c.] Miserable chicana, to support a principle that overturned the constitution.

Par. 190. l. 6. or *could have found a more authentic, or a higher judge* in matters of law, than the high court of parliament.] As

if, because there is not a more authentic or higher judge of matters of law than the high court of parliament, that the high court of parliament were not as liable to transgress the law as the king had been.

Par. 197. l. 21. for he staid *near a week* after at Whitehall.] Had he stayed there a few weeks longer, the rabble would have pulled him out of Whitehall; which is evident to all impartial men who consider the temper of the city at that time, and the power of their demagogues in the house.

Par. 202. l. 1. With this declaration they published the examinations of Mr. Goring, Mr. Percy's letter to the earl of Northumberland; which were the great evidence they had of the plot of bringing up the army to awe the parliament.] Though the attacking the five members was a much more foolish affair than the cabal amongst these officers of the army countenanced by the king, yet this latter was a much greater and more unjustifiable violence on the constitution.

Par. 203. l. 6. which by all parties was *at that time thought a most considerable advantage*.] It is plain then at that time, no party suspected what afterwards came to pass: had they done that, they would have known that the possession of the great seal was of small advantage.

Par. 207. l. 2. how much he had been, and was still, *betrayed by persons who were about him*.] Mr. Hyde was without doubt well acquainted with all the perfidy of these intrigues amongst the courtiers; which, excepting short hints upon several occasions, he has endeavoured to bury in oblivion, whereby his history has lost much of its integrity, and posterity a great deal of useful information.

Par. 222. l. 1. Here, they said, that was laid down for a principle, which would indeed pull up the very foundation of the liberty, property, &c.] All this is just and excellent, and on the principles of a free constitution.

Par. 333. l. 18. And it cannot be denied, but the people were every day visibly reformed in their understandings from *the superstitious reverence they had paid the two houses*.] It could not hitherto (though it might from henceforth) be called *a superstitious reverence*, since it was founded in reason, parliaments having been their only protection against *despotism*.

Par. 340. l. 9. and that the *keeping himself negatively innocent*

was as much as he owed his king and country.] The truth is, those worthy men (the only true patriots between a court and a country faction) were afraid that the suppression of the parliamentarians (whom they hated) by arms would have inflamed that spirit of despotism yet unmortified in the king. Nothing appears more certain than this, from the letters of this *lord Spencer*, then earl of Sunderland, from the siege of Gloucester.

Par. 340. l. 26. Whereas, *if he raised forces*, the parliament would procure themselves to be believed, that it was to overthrow religion, and *suppress the laws and liberties* of the people.] He must have governed well, while such a provision for the personal safety would have been so interpreted by the people.

Par. 341. l. 31. *many lords came to his majesty, and besought him*, “that he would by no means publish that paper, but keep it in his own hands.”] It is true, nothing can account for this, but pure fear of the overbearing power of parliament. But then it greatly recommends their integrity, and shews that nothing but the pure dictates of conscience could have force enough to draw them into so imminent danger of their persons, as was the supporting of the crown at this period. For yet they almost despaired of the king’s being able to divide the kingdom with the parliament, which indeed he soon afterwards did.

Par. 349. l. 8. *that the dangers which they did not see might proceed from causes which they did not understand.*] Admirable both in thought and expression.

Par. 352. l. 15. *and so compel him to be waited on only by such whom they should appoint and allow, and in whose presence he should be more miserably alone than in desolation itself.*] This proved to be a description of what afterwards indeed happened.

Par. 357. l. 27. *but that I have heard some, who were the chief, if not the sole promoters of those violations.*] Hollis.

Par. 357. l. 30. (out of the *ruptures* which have proceeded from their own animosities).] Between the presbyterian and independent parties in the house.

Par. 358. l. 26. *to all but the most abstracted men from all vulgar considerations.*] i. e. those who preferred their duty and honour to all things.

Par. 363. l. 1. *entire men.*] integer.

Par. 365. l. 63. *So most men are deceived in being too reasonable.*] An excellent observation.

Par. 371. l. 2. and not to be misled by the orations of those men who were made desperate by their fortunes, or *their fortunes by them.*] i. e. in danger to forfeit what they had by treason.

Par. 371. l. 6. that they were now at *the brink of the river, and might draw their swords.*] Alluding to the passage of the Rubicon.

Par. 382. l. 4. who saw the sovereignty of the sea now in other hands, who *were more imperious upon the apprehension of any discourtesies than regular and lawful monarchs used to be.*] This is a reflection which the subsequent conduct of the commonwealth and Oliver suggested, and which at that time it had been extravagant to make, the fact being unlikely and improbable.

Par. 385. l. 5. (except in great towns and corporations, where, besides the *natural malignity*, the factious lecturers and emissaries from the parliament had poisoned the affections).] These were certainly the first who felt the effects of arbitrary power, and its malignant influence on trade.

Par. 415. l. 1. *the earl of Holland.*] One of the most corrupt and servile courtiers of that time. Despicable in his intellectual, but more despicable in his moral faculties.

Par. 419. l. 35. that so many *very good men thought fit, at a time when very many* hundreds of persons of honour and quality were imprisoned with all strictness and severity by the parliament.] The reason of this temper is apparent. The king, who in this case acted legally, had hardly ever done so before. And parliament, who now acted illegally, had till now made the law the measure of their actions.

Par. 423. l. 1. And so *the war was now denounced.*] It was an idle question, though then much agitated, who began the war? The only material inquiry was, who *had reason to take up arms.* But when both king and parliament were so anxious to be found on the *defensive*, it was a strong presumption that neither side, in their secret sentiments, were entirely satisfied *in the purity of their conduct.*

Par. 425. l. 3. they proceeded with the most *extravagant severity* that had been ever heard of.] Surely not extravagant, for policy requires that the severity of the exaction should always be in proportion to the illegality of the claim.

Par. 429. l. 29. In the choice of whom, whilst they *accused the king of a purpose to bring in [a] foreign force, and of entertaining papists, they neither considered nation or religion; but entertained all strangers and foreigners, of what religion soever.*] The circumstances of the quarrel enabled the parliament to do this without scandal, and therefore they did it. The same circumstances would have made the king's doing it exceeding scandalous, therefore he forbore it.

Par. 430. l. 33. otherwise *unexperienced in action, and unacquainted with the mysteries and necessary policy of government; severe observers of the law, and as scrupulous in all matters of relation.*] By this account, these were men who were jealous of the king for what had passed, (his principles being still the same,) and abhorred a factious parliament for their present illegalities. The inconveniences to the king's cause, which the historian mentions, would certainly follow from things and men in this situation, but the blame ought to be laid on the true cause—the king's former evil administration.

Par. 434. l. 13. that he *resolved to practise that virtue.*] Though Hotham's motive is here ingeniously deduced, I make no question but he acted thus to moderate the king's resentment, and to make a friend in that party which the chance of war might occasion his standing in need of.

Par. 435. l. 22. *All which ought, reasonably, to have been true in the practick, though it had very little ground in the speculation.*] This is very ill expressed. The meaning is, that though it was the true interest of princes to act in this manner, yet there were no kind of grounds to imagine they would so act.

Par. 436. l. 27. As soon as the king, and the whole court, (for none remained at York,) came to Beverley, where they were *well accommodated.*] This shews the miserable temper of the king's court.

Par. 447. l. 21. whose hearts were *alienated* from any reverence to the government.] This is well expressed. Perhaps more exactly than the noble historian intended.

BOOK VI.

Par. 5. l. 5. *yet there were a people* of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, clothing, and other thriving arts, had gotten very great fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themselves into

the gentlemen's estates, were angry that they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose estates they had, &c.] What a miserable reason is here given for the jealousy of the king and his actions, and the disaffection which it produced, when the true cause lay so open, the king's preceding arbitrary measures.

Par. 5. l. 26. Whereas all the king's counsels were with great formality deliberated before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and precise caution of the law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice *that was contracted against the court.*] A strong proof of the arbitrary administration in the first fourteen years of Charles's reign.

Par. 6. l. 1. When the marquis was thus in the midst of an enemy *that almost covered the whole kingdom.*] The disaffection, by this confession, was general, and therefore must have as general a cause.

Par. 20. l. 11. and *shall leave them to the justice of the parliament to be proceeded with according to their demerits.*] There cannot possibly be a stronger proof given that the parliament was now become a faction, and a faction of the most destructive nature. This declaration being the infallible means, and obvious to foresee, of attaching the far greater part of the nobility and gentry to the king's interest more firmly than ever. As they could not but foresee this, it is plain their quarrel was now with the monarchy itself.

Par. 23. l. 25. *not much unlike the emperor Trajan.*] The unlikeness was in this, the king's declaration was not till *after* he had governed ill, the emperor's was *before*.

Par. 23. l. 30. his majesty made this speech to his soldiers.] This speech is admirable, and has the advantage of most we meet with in historians, that it was really delivered, and not a fiction of the writer's.

Par. 52. l. 9. and the *introducing of popish idolatry and superstition* in the church, . . . by sudden and *untimely dissolving* of former parliaments, . . . and, in prosecution of their wicked designs, *have excited, encouraged, and fostered an unnatural rebellion in Ireland.*] To hide their factious views, which would not suffer them to acquiesce in the satisfaction the king had given them by his consent to several salutary laws, which were a secure barrier against the return of his arbitrary measures, they

were forced to have recourse to popery and Irelandish massacres ; neither of which could he be justly charged with.

Par. 52. l. 27. as if you intended, *by conquest, to establish an absolute and illimited power over them.*] Raising an army against the two houses was certainly with no other intent than to preserve himself. But had they performed that service, it is not unlikely but he would have required much more of them.

Par. 53. l. 9. *if you shall not in all things concur with their wicked and traitorous courses.*] The truth was indeed just the reverse ; for these *abettors of mischief* were so jealous of their master, and so apprehensive of his restoration by force of arms, that they constantly traversed the efforts of the military when they thought there was any danger of ending the war by conquest. By which policy they ruined their master.

Par. 54. l. 17. they ordered, the same day, the mayor and sheriffs of London *to search the houses, &c.*] Things were now brought to that pass, that the *cause of liberty* was defended by injustice, and the *cause of prerogative* by law. In other words, they had changed hands, the parliament was become arbitrary and despotic, and the king was forced to struggle for liberty.

Par. 59. l. 6. To the *former* the lord Capel was sent ; to the *latter*, John Ashburnham of the bedchamber, and of entire confidence with his master.] Lord Clarendon could hardly have used *former* and *latter* for one and the other. It looks therefore as if the names of these *two great men* were mentioned in the MS. and that the editors thought fit to omit them, but forgot to alter the subsequent expression conformable to that omission.

Par. 78. l. 4. The earl of Lindsey was general of the whole army by his commission, and thought very equal to it. But when prince Rupert came to the king, which was after the standard was set up, and received a commission to be general of the horse, which all men knew was designed for him, there was a clause inserted into it which exempted him from receiving orders from any body but from the king himself.] The king gave here just such a specimen of his conduct in war as he had long given in peace. His exempting this young boy from the command of the general, an old experienced soldier, encouraged that undisciplined vigour in the prince's military exploits which ruined all the advantages of his uncle's arms. The first and

early effects were the misfortunes attending the action of Edgehill. Had the general not been disgusted by this exemption from his authority, he had acted in his post as general, and consequently not have left the king's foot naked, to be cut to pieces by the enemy's horse. But that disgust made him retire to the post of a private colonel, and charge at the head of his own regiment of foot, where he fell.

Par. 84. l. 27. Whether this sudden accident, as it might very well, and [the] not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehension as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of prince Rupert, and the king's horse, or all together, with their own *evil consciences*, wrought upon them, &c.] This might be truly said of the grandees of the house, but could with no pretence of reason or justice be said of this wing of horse.

Par. 87. l. 29. All the advantage this seasonable recruit brought them was to give their *old men* so much courage as to keep the field, which it was otherwise believed they would hardly have been persuaded to have done.] i. e. those who had been in the battle, so distinguished from the *new comers*.

Par. 92. l. 1. Sir Edmund Verney hath *been mentioned before*.] This implies he had been characterized before; and so indeed he was: but in that part of the MS. from whence this history was extracted, which was thought rather belonging to the life of the noble historian. Those parts have since been collected and published under that title, in which we find a curious anecdote relating to Verney.

Par. 93. l. 38. But the king *had very ill fortune in conferring those graces*, nor was his service more passionately and insolently opposed by any men in that house than by those who upon those professions were redeemed by him from the condition of commoners.] He conferred them knowingly on undeserving men; so it was more his fault than his misfortune. But their ingratitude was attended with this inconvenience to the king. The people concluded, that the court must needs have very ruinous views, when the king's most obliged creatures fell from him. Whereas in truth that worthless tribe ran naturally, like rats, from distress.

Par. 93. l. 64. on the other side, very many persons of quality, both of the clergy and laity, who had suffered under the impu-

tation of puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the court, and opposed them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very *approaches to rebellion*, that they renounced all their old friends, and applied themselves, &c.] They understood, and truly, that the king in this parliament had by his concurrence with many good acts made a reasonable satisfaction for his former errors.

Par. 96. l. 6. And so himself with his two sons went to Edgecot, where he lay the night before the battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his *wearied and even tired men*, &c.] Not only *wearied* in this action, but *tired* of the service.

Par. 98. l. 5. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little rest had recovered *a strange cheerfulness* into all men, that there were not in that battle *lost above three hundred men at the most*.] How is this to be reconciled with what is said in par. 89, where it is said five thousand fell in the action, of which one third were the king's? It is no wonder this should occasion, as the historian expresses it, *a strange cheerfulness*.

Par. 100. l. 1. *The earl of Essex continued still at Warwick*.] The reason of this unaccountable conduct in Essex was owing to the old soldiers of fortune, by whom he was governed. In the beginning of the war, they hindered the parliamentarians from coming to a decisive action for the sake of their trade. When the war was become more serious, the king's counsellors hindered a decisive action for the sake of public liberty. Yet till one or other conquered, *peace* was a visionary thing.

Par. 100. l. 34. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, &c.] In the year 1741, or thereabout, I had a conversation with the duke of Argyle and lord Cobham, concerning the conduct of Essex and the king after the battle of Edge-hill. They said Essex, instead of retiring to Coventry, should either have pushed the king, or attended him closely: that since he neglected that, and went back so far north, the king should have marched hastily to London, and ended the war at a blow; that, as lord Clarendon represents it, the conduct of both is incomprehensible. I think the matter very clear. Essex's views and principles would not suffer him to destroy the king, because the constitution would fall with him; and this he loved. This appears evidently from Whitlock, who says, that the next

day after the battle, three fresh regiments, one of horse and two of foot, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, Hollis, and Hambden, joined him, who all urged him to pursue the king; but he took Dalbier's advice to the contrary. On the other hand, the king's best friends dreaded his ending the war by conquest, as knowing his despotic disposition. And these dissuaded the marching up to London, which lord Clarendon tells us was debated in council.

Par. 101. l. 46. And though it was evident enough that he had *run away from the beginning, and only lost his way thither.*] Exquisitely satirical.

Par. 102. l. 16. *though they might be secured.*] This is loosely expressed. Did these grandees believe they might be secured, or does the historian assure us that they would? If the first, it is certain they did not confide in the king's security offered to them, as appears throughout their whole conduct.

Par. 103. l. 27. And by this means *many children were engaged in that service.*] Had this been done in the distresses which followed, it might have been pardoned by candid men; but to do it now, although they gained by making things and persons desperate, yet it must appear to all dispassionate observers to be a throwing off the mask too soon.

Par. 134. l. 43. *and too much neglecting the council of state.*] He seems to have done it for no other reason than to break off the treaty. He was a soldier of fortune, and loved the service, and his whole conduct was conformable to that character. In a word, the king was ruined by his ministers in peace and by his officers in war. But he who certainly most contributed to the ill success of his arms was prince Rupert; and this was one of the most mischievous as well as barbarous of his exploits. In this affair, if the king's sole purpose was to disengage prince Rupert's horse on Hounslow heath, why did he advance to Hounslow with his foot, and force the barricades of the town defended by the parliament's foot? I doubt he was not so clear in his purpose as his historian represents him.

Par. 138. l. 4. and that the king had so great a party in every regiment, that it would have *made no resistance.*] Those who read how the city train-bands behaved in the second battle of Newbury will hardly be of this opinion.

Par. 138. l. 14. that being a good argument to them not to

charge the king which had been an ill one to him to charge them, the constitution of their forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the company they were in.] The observation is just. Inclination to the opposite party would make soldiers charge weakly and unwillingly; but when they were charged, both honour and safety would make them defend themselves with vigour.

Par. 154. l. 8. *Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall*, publicly avowed, &c.] This, if true, was a most villainous profanation of their ministry. The king and parliament were now on the footing of civil enemies. And such an oath, taken by prisoners of war, in consideration of liberty, has always been held binding by the law of nations, and by the law of arms so sacred, that the violators of it are held by military men to be ignominious.

Par. 182. l. 8. *indemnities*.] Immunities.

Par. 182. l. 32. it may be, the *politic considerations in those concessions and connivances were neither made use of nor understood*.] The historian could never have made this observation without having a very poor opinion of Charles's ministers of state, whether ecclesiastical or lay.

Par. 183. l. 1. Some few years before these troubles, when the power of churchmen grew most transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understandings of the lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, (*for, without the last, the first could have done no hurt*.)] This is a true observation, which might be carried through all the ages of the church.

Par. 185. l. 1. *And that this might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the civil policy of the kingdom, &c.*] He means, that the world might see that this new policy was for the sake of the church, not the state, the English ambassador at Paris broke communion with them.

Par. 186. l. 4. but having too just cause given them to *dislike the passion*.] The doctrine of resistance.

Par. 186. l. 8. that the total *declining the interest of that party*.] i. e. persecuting them.

Par. 186. l. 14. and so *all parties, &c.*] Papists and church of England.

Par. 186. l. 15. might, *if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness, &c.*] In other words, a comprehension between popery and the church of England.

Par. 186. l. 21. without duly weighing objections, or the circumstances of *policy*.] All this while the true religious policy of toleration (on which doubtless the first reformers went) is forgot.

Par. 197. l. 15. *Other grievances, &c.*] Ship-money.

Par. 200. l. 18. *irreverence*.] Irreligion.

Par. 201. l. 10. The public faith . . . can never die, *never be bankrupt*.] This state aphorism will now, since the debt of one hundred and fifty millions sterling, begin to be brought in question.

Par. 231. l. 79. And that your majesty will be graciously pleased to give your royal assent unto a bill *for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the protestant religion*.] There cannot be a stronger proof that all their pretence of taking up arms for the preservation of the rights of subjects and citizens was a mere farce, than this wicked request, the violation of all law, divine and human. For these leaders in parliament were well acquainted with the rights of conscience.

Par. 231. l. 113. and that all these, and all the judges of the same courts, for the time to come, may hold their places by letters patents under the great seal *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.] Had they really not been factious, and resolved to change the regal power, they would have been content to make that reasonable demand, that the judges should hold their places *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and confined themselves to that only in this 8th article.

Par. 233. l. 22. *their laws, liberties, privileges, and safety of parliament, were so amply settled and established, or offered to be so by his majesty*.] Nothing was more true than this assertion. And to estimate the merits in this quarrel, this truth must be always kept in mind.

Par. 234. l. 40. with such clauses for the *ease of tender consciences* as his majesty hath formerly offered.] How much hath the king in this article the advantage of the parliament in their 5th, in which is the execrable clause of *educating the children of papists*!

Par. 234. l. 61. by his *governing according to the known laws of the land*.] The king, in all his papers of appeal to the people against this faction of a parliament, carefully avoids touching upon his preceding arbitrary government, but appears willing

the people should believe that he always governed by law This seems to have been ill policy in his council. The people both saw and felt his ill government. The confessing it, would have gone a great way to persuade them, that now he had seen his error he would be disposed to govern better; whereas the acknowledging no fault gave no room for hopes of amendment.

Par. 236. l. 20. whose very good *reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute and unavoidable necessity.*] i. e. their military reputation was so good, as to make it be believed that it was impossible for them to hold out longer than they did.

Par. 238. l. 8. whereof *Warneford.*] Of Bibury.

Par. 238. l. 14. The town yielded much plunder, from which the undistinguishing soldier could not be kept, &c.] A curious and well chosen and well related instance of the miseries attending civil distractions.

Par. 239. l. 20. *There was in this county, as throughout the whole kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the court; yet a full submission, and love of the established government of church and state.*] It was impossible for the historian to give a stronger proof of the king's ill government, and the endeavours of the several parliaments to maintain the people's rights, than this prejudice of a brave and honest people, which at the same time bore a reverence for the constitution both of church and state.

Par. 239. l. 49. *which must be an answer to all those oversights and omissions which posterity will be apt to impute to the king in the morning of these distractions.*] The observance of this rule hindered the king from making a sufficient provision for his defence in the beginning of the war; and the violation of it towards the conclusion, presently destroyed that provision that had been made.

Par. 242. l. 18. *so the extreme superstition to it as soon dissolved it.*] But by all this it appears that these loyal Cornish men, with all their reverence for the constitution of church and state, had little regard to the general quarrel. They only wanted to provide for themselves in peace in that sequestered corner. But they were soon wakened from this flattering dream.

Par. 245. l. 22. *the king granted a commission jointly to his lordship, sir Ralph Hopton, &c.*] This was of a piece with

all the rest of the court conduct throughout the prosecution of the war.

Par. 246. l. 27. deep winter.] Deep of winter.

Par. 251. l. 1. falling upon *Chagford*.] Midway between Tavistock and Exeter.

Par. 251. l. 16. and by too forward engaging himself in this last received a mortal shot by a musket.] By his will he left Hobbes, with whom he was intimate, 200*l.* in esteem of his great parts, not his principles.

Par. 254. l. 13. and *the earl of Stamford himself* seemed so ingenuous.] This was politically done of the earl of Stamford and his party, for they were distressed by the successes of those of Cornwall. But the gentlemen there on the other side would certainly never have consented to a neutrality at this juncture, could they have overcome what lord Clarendon calls the *superstition*, and I the *absurdity*, of the common people of Cornwall.

Par. 257. l. 19. *And truly, I believe*.] The historian's reason for his belief could be only this, that, if all the king's friends had appeared ready for service together, so formidable a power would have confined the parliament within peaceful limits. But he did not consider the friends of parliament were as backward, and that the appearance of their enemies would have brought them likewise forward, so the balance would soon have been even.

Par. 257. l. 34. (the *fatal disease* of the whole kingdom.)] But a disease arising from the long preceding corruptions of the court.

Par. 257. l. 54. *and concluding, as the other did*.] The noble historian confesses this was the case of both parties; he says that they concluded alike, that *the decision between the king and parliament would be at the first encounter*.

Par. 258. l. 12. reprehending the lord Fairfax.] The general argument in this reprehension is very solid; nothing being more unjust and absurd than such partial neutralities in a quarrel that concerns the whole. It is true, the parliament was much more concerned to discountenance them than the king, since the cause of the parliament could be only supported by extraordinary measures, which an inflamed and enthusiastic temper only will engage in; and when this is suffered to cool by a neutrality, all is in danger. Whereas the other party following and relying

upon established law and custom, a neutrality gives new force to their operations, which had been weakened by the bold impingements on them.

Par. 260. l. 1. Upon so great a disadvantage were the king's party in all places, &c.] This might be true in fact, but it makes nothing against what I here say of these neutralities.

Par. 260. l. 10. The present disadvantage of this rupture &c.] The rupture was more disadvantageous to the royalists than to the parliamentarians, for the reason given above, as well as for the reasons here urged by the noble historian.

Par. 261. l. 10. Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, three very populous and rich towns, (which depending wholly upon *clothiers naturally maligned the gentry*,) were wholly at their disposition.] It is true, this is too much the general disposition of rich manufacturers; but I believe in civil dissensions men take their party on more substantial and affecting motives. Nothing is more baleful to trade and commerce than arbitrary government. It is no wonder then that the trading communities should think those pretended patrons of liberty in parliament were their natural protectors.

Par. 264. l. 6. who, *by the queen's favour*.] This was not one of the least of the mischiefs she caused to the king by her pragmatic temper, always busy and overbearing.

Par. 269. l. 21. *And it fared in those counties as in all other parts of the kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still was greater than of those who desired to engage of either party; so that they were generally inclined to articles of neutrality.*] There cannot be a stronger proof than this, that the body of the people of England thought that the king had made ample amends for his ill government by his passing so many salutary laws before the two parties had recourse to arms.

Par. 271. l. 1. The town of Manchester had from the beginning (out of that *factionous humour which possessed most corporations, and the pride of their wealth*) opposed the king, &c.] In other words, love of liberty for the sake of trade.

Par. 273. l. 1. And the difference in the temper of the common people of both sides was so great, &c.] The reason of this different temper is evident; the royalists had the constitution and the established laws on their side, so all they had to fear in adhering to them was, not to irritate the parliament by an over

active prosecution of them ; whereas the parliamentarians acting in an extraordinary [way], not authorized by the established laws, had no other way to save themselves harmless but by subduing the constitution, which required vigour and activity.

Par. 277. l. 2. that it should be upon *St. Chad's day*.] Unworthy of the historian's remembrance.

Par. 277. l. 13. Whether his *passions* or *conscience* swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of the church or state.] i. e. whether resentment of the injustice of ruling churchmen and arbitrary ministers, or the persuasion that episcopacy in the church and monarchy in the state were not the best forms of government to procure those blessings of which society is productive.

Par. 277. l. 27. *by which many persons became prisoners, of too good quality to have their names remembered*.] This was only said as a mark of indignation, not seriously, as if there was any solid reason why an impartial historian should have his scruples to mention their names.

Par. 280. l. 3. So that his own horse (*according to their unhappy practice*) with too much fury pursuing the chase, he was left encompassed by his enemy.] In this practice the *courage* was as questionable as the *discipline* was faulty : for it was to avoid returning to the charge against unbroken bodies of the enemy.

Par. 283. l. 12. *which was not so well then understood*.] By this the historian seems to suppose, that the papers he wrote in the king's name and for the king's cause, while at York, had opened the people's eyes ; and he did not judge too partially of the effects of them.

Par. 284. l. 14. Their answer to this was as unreasonable as the other ; that they would neither send the body, nor permit his surgeons to come to embalm it.] Incredibly base.

Par. 289. l. 1. This was *a very great offer*.] As great as it was, it should in common prudence have been refused at this juncture, when the king had fairly divided the kingdom with his enemies. After the fatal battle of Naseby indeed, when the king was forced to fly for refuge into Wales, and was received by the marquis of Worcester, such an acceptance of service from the papists might be excused. But till such an extremity, the king's

council should have considered there was an extreme great difference between taking an able officer of that persuasion into his service, and receiving the assistance of what his enemies, without much violation of truth or candour, might call a *popish army*.

Par. 294. l. 15. having made no other *use of his conquests than the dishonouring so many places.*] This doubtless was of considerable use to the parliament at a time when the king's horse were thought to be irresistible.

Par. 295. l. 18. *that the king always looked upon it as the most groundless, bloody, and wicked rebellion* that ever possessed the spirits of that people.] This I verily believe, nor is it at all inconsistent with his first drawing out of Ireland many of the forces then fighting against the Irish rebels, and afterwards bringing over the rebels themselves to support his cause against his English rebels.

Par. 303. l. 21. And so they *continued in his quarters*, and put themselves into the troops.] It had surely at this time been more prudent to have banished them his presence, or confined them prisoners in his garrisons, than to employ them in his armies.

Par. 305. l. 18. For the *king and queen* grew every day less satisfied with him.] A language well adapted to the uxorious temper and conduct of the king.

Par. 306. l. 17. his *misfortune* at court.] i. e. want of credit.

Par. 306. l. 28. and then, *without waiting again on the king.*] He must have ill consulted his safety in so doing, if what the historian says of his interest at court (just above) be true, when he left the king between Nottingham and Shrewsbury. And yet he had given fresh offence after that by staying so long in the enemy's quarters.

Par. 313. l. 24. and indeed a man *so accomplished*, that he had either no enemies, or such who were ashamed to profess they were so.] And yet this accomplished man (for indeed he was such) acted by his old friend in his distresses, when ruined by Charles the Second's wicked crew of courtiers, in so paltry a manner, as was a disgrace to his character. See Carte's Collection of Letters, written at that time.

Par. 317. l. 9. And at this time the number of those in both houses who really desired *the same peace the king did.*] Insinu-

ating that the king desired a peace upon terms by which the public liberty might be secured. This is true, if by the king was meant the king's council.

Par. 317. l. 23. *their natural inconstancy even in ill.*] This was the true character of many; at the head of which class was earl Holland.

Par. 381. l. 10. *And this was the first avowed interruption and suspension of the public justice.*] For the parliament to consent to the holding assizes and gaol-delivery, *flagrante bello*, and when the sword was appealed to, was not only confessing the injustice of their cause, but contributing to the punishment of it.

Par. 385. l. 15. *the humour of the court.*] i. e. arbitrary power.

Par. 385. l. 19. *against the government established.*] Meaning church government.

Par. 385. l. 20. *before he suspected their blacker designs.*] Meaning against monarchy.

Par. 386. l. 16. *He had great dislike of the high courses.*] i. e. arbitrary courses.

Par. 386. l. 19. *for some exorbitant proceedings.*] Tyrannical.

Par. 386. l. 46. *so no man had more melancholic apprehensions of the issue of the war.*] This is the state in which the noble historian represents all those excellent men who adhered to the king after he had given satisfaction to public liberty, and who before that had either opposed the court, or been ill used by it. Now from whence could arise the *melancholy apprehensions* of these men, but their foreseeing that, which ever side conquered, public liberty would be destroyed, and therefore were always labouring in vain to end the quarrel by treaty and convention.

Par. 388. l. 48. *the lord Digby; who shortly after came to sit there as secretary of state, and had not that reverence for his father's wisdom (he failed not in his piety towards him) which his great experience deserved.*] The father had contracted the Spanish gravity, the son was born with the French vivacity; so it was no wonder he had not much reverence for his father's *wisdom*. But that he preserved a filial *piety* to him is to be ascribed to his grandeur of mind.

Par. 395. l. 1. *Secretary Nicholas was a very honest and industrious man, &c.*] Nothing can give one a higher idea of the virtue and integrity of this great historian (as well as of his incomparable eloquence) than his characters. Secretary Nicholas

was his bosom friend, and never forfeited his good opinion; yet he would say nothing of his parts, because, in truth, he could not. Yet he is very lavish in the praise of great parts wherever they were found, though in his greatest personal enemies.

Par. 406. l. 1. *The earl of Manchester.*] Lord Kimbolton.

Par. 406. l. 5. *loved his country with too unskilful a tenderness.*] i. e. was too violent in his resentments against a court which was oppressing it.

Par. 407. l. 27. *and from particular instances to make general and dangerous conclusions.*] Whenever a king attempts to overthrow public liberty, the attempt can never be detected but by *drawing general conclusions from particular instances*: and without reliance on this sort of logic, no opposition to such an attempt can be justified.

Par. 409. l. 21. *His parts were not quick.*] His reading a long speech of several hours in the house of lords occasioned a standing order that no lord should read a written speech.

Par. 411. l. 5. for whose sakes only he had brought that *infamy* upon himself.] i. e. the minutes of the council-board, procured for the managers in the prosecution against the earl of Strafford.

Par. 411. l. 35. His malice to the earl of Strafford, who had unwisely provoked him, *wantonly*, &c.] By taking the title of *Raby*.

BOOK VII.

Par. 9. l. 1. *It is evident* to all men where the difference now lay between them.] It is evident that the king treated the parliament as if he had subdued them, only granting them an amnesty.

Par. 19. l. 23. *for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the protestant religion.*] His majesty was much more careful that his own rights should not be violated, than that the rights of nature should be observed.

Par. 20. l. 1. To this message [the two houses] returned *no answer* to the king.] It was no wonder. This was the most unguarded step the king ever made throughout the course of the war.

Par. 21. l. 1. Many were of opinion that the king was *too severe in this treaty.*] Well they might. In an equal treaty,

when made by the parties sword in hand, were not concessions to be made on both sides, if a peace was desired by either? But this unhappily was not the case. While the hopes of each party were equal, the talk of treaties and of peace was only to cajole the people, who languished after it; and each was to affect to labour after it, to throw the public odium on their adversaries.

Par. 22. l. 15. I cannot entertain any imagination that it would have produced a peace, *or given the king any advantage or benefit in the war: what inconvenience* it might have produced hath been touched before.] This advantage it would certainly have given him: it would have shewn the people that he was ready to sacrifice his own interest for their sake, by procuring them what they so much wanted, *a peace*. The *inconvenience* it would have produced was the displeasing perhaps some of the most powerful of his self-interested and factious followers.

Par. 23. l. 36. would have been a means to have restored the kingdom to a *present peace, and the king to his just authority and rights*.] Certainly not. But because the king could not get all by this treaty, was he to neglect the getting any thing? And he certainly would have got a great deal, by shewing the people that he was ready to sacrifice a great deal for them.

Par. 24. l. 8. if they had meant any *reasonable concessions*.] Reasonable concessions! Why, the king had made none; and that I suppose they foresaw.

Par. 25. l. 6. The soldiers without were for the most part newly levied, *and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns*.] And in this ignorance they continued throughout the whole war. For marshal Turenne, in his *Mémoires*, tells us, that the six thousand brave English foot which Cromwell sent the French, to assist at the siege of Dunkirk, were mere savages in the knowledge of such a service.

Par. 26. l. 13. It was reported, that the *officers of horse in the council* were all for a storm, and the *foot officers* for approaching.] This is slyly said in reproach of Essex's army. For in a storm the foot were to make way for the horse. So the former were exposed to all the slaughter, and the latter shared in all the honour of the success.

Par. 27. l. 6. there being fewer lost by that service *than will be believed.*] This shews their total ignorance in the service.

Par. 31. l. 30. *affected* disloyalty.] Meaning affectionate.

Par. 34. l. 42. whereof the *lord Digby.*] Lord Digby's purpose in being of this party was to pay his court to the queen.

Par. 39. l. 49. than giving up those poor men, *who, out of their conscience* of their rebellion.] I make no doubt but these deserters from both armies were the greatest scoundrels in them, and the least swayed by conscience.

Par. 43. l. 19. *I do believe him* to have been free from any base compliance with the enemy.] In other words, *I believe him to be unjustly condemned*; and so will every one who admits this representation of the case to be a true one.

Par. 48. l. 24. and so far were they yet from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, *that the house of commons raged more furiously than ever.*] This was consequential. The leaders in the house of commons wanted some extraordinary security against the king's vindictive temper on his return to power; and the last treaty had shewn that he would not give it to them; so they grew resolved that the sword should decide all.

Par. 50. l. 1. Since his majesty's message of the 12th of April in which he conceived he had made *such an overture &c.*] A mere farce to cajole the people. He could never imagine that, when he had granted nothing, the calling that nothing an *overture for composing the public distractions* could give the parliament any inclination to comply with what he wanted: but, as appears by par. 64. there was another purpose in it, the better by this means to carry on the correspondence between the king and his friends in the parliament and the city.

Par. 51. l. 7. *that house was so far from concurring with them.*] It was no wonder they were a little out of humour for being thus bantered.

Par. 57. l. 6. and, *being more of a soldier, in the discourses administered questions and considerations necessary to be understood by men that either meant to use force or to resist it.*] From these words it appears, that this was as much a plot against the parliament at Westminster, in which force was to be employed, as any plot could be. It is therefore surprising that the noble historian could say, so few lines after, that the whole design

was only to oppose the petitioners against peace, by petitioning the parliament for it.

Par. 58. l. 10. And it may be, some men might think of making advantage of any casual commotion, or preventing any mischief by it.] This is a miserable way of evading the evidence, that the plotters intended force.

Par. 58. l. 30. and if there had, they *would have published such a relation of it.*] If the parliament had only *published* the circumstances which the noble historian here delivers as fact, it would have been sufficient to have convinced all impartial men that the plotters intended force.

Par. 61. l. 21. How this commission was discovered, *I could never learn.*] What more easy? Would not Mr. Tomkins's well disposed citizens naturally confer with sir Nicholas Crisp's? And would this commission remain an uncommunicable secret between them? But the historian goes upon what he would have his reader believe, that Tomkins and Crisp knew nothing of one another's plot.

Par. 64. l. 6. *they kneaded both into one plot and conspiracy.*] One would wonder the noble historian should be so solicitous to discredit this plot; since this was fair war, and only counter-plotting the plotters. But the king's reputation with the public was so bad, that plotting against a parliament in arms against him was understood to be an indication that he wanted to resume his exercise of arbitrary power.

Par. 66. l. 14. and, with assistance of the king's force, *to awe and master the parliament.*] It was a thing surely to be wished by all who loved the established constitution, that this faction of a parliament should be destroyed; but then they would wish it to be done by a lover of public liberty, which few at that time thought the king was.

Par. 68. l. 5. a popish and *traitorous plot for the subversion of the true protestant reformed religion.*] Just such another farce as the king's last message for peace.

Par. 70. l. 16. by the industry of their *clergy.*] There was without doubt many a lay rogue amongst these patrons of liberty. But none of them came near their clergy in malignity, corruption, hypocrisy, and impiety.

Par. 72. l. 36. no man imagining, that if the king could have

entertained any probable hope of reducing London, &c.] This is said with a great deal of good sense. Tampering with the army in the north, when the parliament was beginning their redress of grievances, was to be condemned; but now the king and parliament were formed into two parties, and both agreed to appeal to the sword, the king's attempt to disperse the parliament in this manner was justifiable policy.

Par. 74. l. 9. many men concluded, &c.] The recording of these superstitions of the times, except where they had an influence on the public affairs, is unworthy so great an historian.

Par. 82. l. 25. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced *him*.] For *him*, the historian should have said *his cause*.

Par. 84. l. 29. and a hand to execute *any mischief*.] By *mischief*, the historian means no more than *reducing the king's arbitrary by force*, [so MS.]; which, on the historian's principles, was a matter altogether unlawful. This sense of the word *mischief* makes all the parts of this fine drawn *character* consistent. For every line shews that the historian believed him to be a man of honour and virtue, acting on wrong principles. As to the historian's account, that he grew more *fierce* after his *accusation*, this may be easily accounted for, without ascribing it to personal resentment. Mr. Hambden saw how obstinately the king struggled against all reform of his arbitrary measures; of which, the accusing the five members was one of many flagrant instances of this truth. He was led to think there was a necessity to use force for the securing what they had got. This was surely a mistake; but such a mistake as an honest man might commit.

Par. 88. l. 8. Next them, on *the left hand*.] *Their*; i. e. on the left hand of Slanning and Trevannion; for the left hand of the south was the west, and the left hand of the north was the east; so the hill would be assaulted by these four divisions on the four quarters.

Par. 88. l. 18. to take any advantage he could on the *enemy*, if they charged.] That this was the historian's meaning appears from the next paragraph, where he says, their few horse might have done great service.

Par. 92. l. 22. *said much that was disadvantageous to the court*.] By the character the historian here gives of young Chudleigh,

we must conclude he confessed nothing but the truth ; and if this was very disadvantageous to the court, we must conclude that plot was not so harmless a one as the historian, in the former part of his history, has represented it.

Par. 94. l. 21. *This put some persons upon desiring that prince Maurice, &c.*] Another strong misconduct of the king, in his fondness for this unhappy family.

Par. 96. l. 14. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish had not been much superior to that of their common soldiers, &c.] Great injustice to the Cornish.

Par. 100. l. 17. inasmuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at *a dear ransom.*] Every now and then a story comes out which shews the court to have been exceeding tyrannical, and abates all our wonder at the rage and malice of those who had been oppressed by it. It is a moot point which did the king most mischief, his court servants, whom he unreasonably indulged, or his country subjects, whom he as unreasonably oppressed. Gratitude had not the same influence on the affections of his servants, which thirst of revenge had on those who had been oppressed by their master.

Par. 105. l. 4. beat up a regiment of horse and dragoons of sir James Hamilton's, and dispersed them.] This was the disorderly regiment which was sent for out of Devonshire, on account of the hurt they did there to the king's cause ; and this was a fate very likely to attend their irregularities.

Par. 108. l. 8. that no accidents which happened could make any impression in him ; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so.] It appears from what the historian all along observes, that these Cornish troops, to whom the king owed so much, (and, had they been well used, would have owed a great deal more,) had great reason to complain of the ill return their services met with from the court and court favourites.

Par. 110. l. 22. which joined about Bath, in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three.] Pryn, the utter barrister of Swanswick, had done much to spread this disaffection.

Par. 111. l. 7. which were at best weary.] Their license, and Haslerig's cuirassiers, had lessened both their discipline and their courage.

Par. 121. l. 1. *This blessed defeat happened to be upon the same day, and about the same time of the day, when the king met the queen upon the field near Keinton, under Edge-hill.*] This observation was more becoming a small paltry courtier, than this great historian.

Par. 121. l. 10. and this transportation to either extremes was *too natural* upon all the vicissitudes of the war.] Too natural for courts, where the mind is always found or made unbalanced. Meaning, without doubt, prince Rupert himself.

Par. 122. l. 1. by the *conjuncture*.] Conjunction.

Par. 123. l. 19. and so the marquis and prince Maurice *returned to Bath*.] i. e. from Oxford, whither they had gone to attend the council of war.

Par. 138. l. 18. for all the *pressures and inconveniences* they had borne.] The robberies of arbitrary power. These were indeed solidly *repaired* by the *excellent laws* he speaks of. But the doing all this with a very bad grace, and the ill opinion that was entertained of his sincerity, gave the enemies of the constitution credit for their very worst designs.

Par. 142. l. 1. by their memory of that *excellent peace and firm happiness*.] How is this consistent with the *pressures and inconveniences* which, in this very declaration, he owns the subject had felt during his reign, before the calling of this last parliament?

Par. 143. l. 6. *Revenge* and blood-thirstiness have never been imputed to us, &c.] The *revenge* his enemies charged him with at one time, and the *forgiveness* he boasts of at another, were very consistent.

Par. 144. l. 15. prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew of the king's should be lieutenant general to the marquis, &c.] He took to heart what doubtless had been infused into it by the uncle himself. A ray of royalty in the court notions of that time diffused itself through all the branches of the sacred stem: otherwise, how could it possibly be thought, that a mere soldier of fortune, a foreigner, scarce of age, was hardly dealt with, or degraded, in being appointed lieutenant general to an English nobleman of the first quality and credit, who was made general of an army that was to be raised and kept together by his own interest in the country, and much at the expense of his own noble fortune?

Par. 145. l. 4. He had passed his word to his nephew, *of whom he was very tender.*] Had the king been always as *tender* of his word as he was of the follies of those nearest to him, he had never been reduced to these straits.

Par. 145. l. 35. And these thought.] His country friends.

Par. 146. l. 1. Others again were of opinion.] His court friends.

Par. 146. l. 12. as his courage and *conduct* had been very prosperous to the king.] He had only fought one pitched battle, that of Edge-hill, and that he lost by his eminent misconduct. The like misconduct afterwards lost him the battle of Marston Moor.

Par. 155. l. 20. *yet he discerned plainly that the prince and the marquis would never agree together.*] All may discern plainly that the king did it to humour prince Maurice, in his impotent passion for being a general.

Par. 155. l. 24. *that he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army than by the persuasions of his council.*] This gives us a glimmering of what was to be expected, now success ran high, if the king's arms should prevail.

Par. 156. l. 13. yet they thought the prince's full inexperience of the customs and manners of England, and *an aversion from considering them, &c.*] This we see in the preceding paragraph was the very reason for the king's preferring the prince to the marquis.

Par. 156. l. 26. *a greater tide of good fortune* had attended that expedition.] This is honestly confessed.

Par. 158. l. 59. but if the king himself came with his army, and summoned it, he would not hold it against him.] Massey evidently said this to draw the king's army before Gloucester, and to gain himself honour and advancement in the service by a brave defence.

Par. 167. l. 22. discovery.] Disposition.

Par. 169. l. 13. the *sedition* preachers filled all the pulpits with alarums of ruin and destruction to the city, &c.] Thus the presbyterian clergy became the instruments of the overthrow of the constitution.

Par. 173. l. 8. (which *many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the earl.*)] i. e. many of the king's court, who were of the party or faction of the marquis.

Par. 173. l. 16. which hath been since prosecuted, with effect,

to a *worse purpose*.] When the seceders of parliament went to the army under Fairfax and Cromwell.

Par. 175. l. 13. by his staying with his army before Gloucester.] It is certain this was a false step. Had the disorders and divisions in London been between men who had the same *end*, and differed only in the *means*, the approach of a common enemy would have united them. But as their end as well as means was different, the king's approach would have quite broke them to pieces, and reestablished his own power. The not seeing this difference in the king's council must give one a very indifferent idea either of their sense or sobriety.

Par. 177. l. 31. notwithstanding that the *queen herself* writ so importunately against it.] This was the first good counsel I find of her giving. But we see, by par. 181, that it was out of no public motive.

Par. 180. l. 20. that the king was *betrayed*.] No further than by the soldiery's desiring the continuance of the war.

Par. 181. l. 8. who was the *most incapable* of any such apprehensions.] Which had brought him into this condition, and soon reduced him to a worse.

Par. 181. l. 9. and had her majesty in so *perfect an adoration*.] Were there no other proof, this very strange expression shews how much the noble historian condemned the king's uxorious folly.

Par. 183. l. 7. and expected to be as much, it may be, more made of, than they who had *borne the heat of the day*.] They were afraid of having too many sharers in the king's good fortune.

Par. 184. l. 2. who seldom spake without *some earnestness*.] i. e. on some pressing occasion: for this is the sense of the words, which have the face of a very different meaning.

Par. 186. l. 42. *He was a man of honour and of courage, and would have been an excellent person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping and improving his estate*.] The exact character of his son, the late duke of Newcastle, and the first of the name of Holles.

Par. 188. l. 22. but pure compliance with the *ill humour of the town*.] Nothing more shews the innate corruption of courtiers, than this ill humour on this occasion.

Par. 192. l. 10. *which the earl of Carnarvon, . . . took so ill, . . .*

given out to be greater than it was.] How could he say so, when he had but just before told us how lord Carnarvon resented it? But, as usual, he was tender of these foreign branches of the royal house. But that these injustices were chiefly to be laid at the door of the foreign officers, appears pretty plain by the familiar use of the German word *plunder*, then first introduced into the English tongue.

Par. 196. l. 15. and that nobody saw *above six* of the enemy that charged them.] These were the officers who charged with sir J. Digby in the front of the horse.

Par. 199. l. 56. the *flexibility* and *instability* of that gentleman's nature.] There was much both of intrigue and whim in the character of this first earl of Shaftesbury.

Par. 200. l. 6. *he would not, to please the marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public disobligation and affront upon his nephew.*] Had the king been as able in politics, as he was in the episcoparian squabbles, he would have sent this nephew back to Germany, after all the disorders he had countenanced, and the disaffection he had thereby created to the king's cause in the west.

Par. 201. l. 3. yet the king had neither money nor *materials requisite for a siege.*] This shews the reason of *Chillingworth's* activity there in inventing military machines for the service, and for which he was so much abused by those miserable rascals, the presbyterian pulpit incendiaries.

Par. 204. l. 33. *prince Rupert himself staying with the body of horse.*] Here, where generalship was required, prince Rupert could do nothing worthy of his name.

Par. 206. l. 22. and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the *indisposition* that possessed the whole army, &c.] Their indisposition should have been pointed against the earl of Essex, who raised the siege, and on whom a brave and vigilant enemy might have had its revenge.

Par. 211. l. 26. *of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms.*] A most judicious observation, which later times have abundantly supported. Skippon had disciplined these men in the Artillery Garden ever since the first beginning of the quarrel.

Par. 215. l. 3. who, having no command in the army, attended upon the king's person, under the *obligation of honour.*] These

are lord Sunderland's own words to his wife, from the king's camp, in 1642: "The king's condition is much improved of late, which increaseth the insolency of the papists. Neither is there wanting daily handsome occasion to retire, were it not for *grinning honour*. For let occasion be never so handsome, unless a man were resolved to fight on the parliament side, (which, for my part, I had rather be hanged,) it will be said, without doubt, that a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found to salve the *punctilio of honour*, I would not continue here an hour." Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 667.

Par. 217. l. 9. a person of such *prodigious parts of learning and knowledge*.] So says this wise historian; but an historian wiser than he, the honourable Mr. Horace Walpole, in his Lives of royal and noble authors, says, this noble lord was a weak man, and of very mean and ordinary parts.

Par. 222. l. 15. he harboured, it may be, *some jealousy and prejudice of the court*.] Did he not, he could never be the man his historian here represents him.

Par. 222. l. 16. he was not *before* immoderately inclined.] i. e. *before the last short parliament*. But lord Falkland himself, in his printed speeches in the *last long parliament*, gives a better reason for his indisposition to the court, than his father's ill success there as a *courtier of fortune*.

Par. 222. l. 41. that an *endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom had been treason*.] As much as to say, Strafford did indeed *endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom*. If this was true, his punishment was certainly most just. An endeavour to overthrow a society must needs, from the very nature and end of society, be a capital crime. It is not treason to this or that state, but to all community in general.

Par. 223. l. 24. his answers were more negligent and *less satisfactory*.] Without doubt *little satisfactory* to a monarch unwilling even then to part with illegal powers his parliament was wresting from him.

Par. 223. l. 33. as more than an *ordinary averseness to his service*.] Hitherto he plainly entertained violent suspicions of the court; nay, he seems to have done so to the last: and if his

amiable friend, the young lord Sunderland, was not mistaken in the picture he draws of the court a few weeks before this battle, in which they both fell, not without reason.

Par. 226. l. 33. *his nature.*] i. e. virtuous disposition.

Par. 230. l. 28. and though he received *some repulse* in the command of a troop of horse.] I suppose on account of his declared indisposition to the court.

Par. 238. l. 4. every one accusing another of *want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights.*] And these complaints were well founded.

Par. 240. l. 4. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours or offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires *from the king*, made their modesty an argument of their merit *to the queen.*] The king had promised the queen not to confer honours and offices without her participation.

Par. 242. l. 14. But the queen, whether from her inclination or promise, *or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers.*] The public misfortunes could not yet cure her of her former errors.

Par. 242. l. 47. *who did not wish to see the court as it had been, or the queen herself. . . . possessed of so absolute a power.*] This plainly intimates, that all these distractions made no change in the king and queen's dispositions. How then can we wonder that the heads of the other party dare not trust them? Hence arose the fatal necessity of pushing things to extremity.

Par. 244. l. 1. He [the earl] had a friend.] Mr. Hyde himself.

Par. 247. l. 30. and that the *papists had so great a power* there.] If you will believe lord Sunderland, in his letter to his lady, this was but too true; see note on par. 215.

Par. 265. l. 6. those who had the *greatest trust* in their affairs.] Their generals.

Par. 265. l. 11. nor favoured *one of those men.*] The Independents.

Par. 266. l. 4. when *all the leading persons in those councils.*] The Independents.

Par. 267. l. 17. erecting a power and authority that resolved to *persecute presbytery to an extirpation.*] This was not true in

any other sense than this, that they were resolved to destroy the presbyterian tyranny; and I suppose the noble historian thought that their tyranny and their existence were inseparable.

Par. 268. l. 12. Without a parliament, they could not propose it.] This appears to have been an idle struggle for a parliament or no parliament. If under the sanction of a parliament they had sent any army into England against the king, it had been as much a rebellion as if the nation had raised and sent an army without that sanction; and a hundred thousand pounds would certainly have overcome that scruple.

Par. 276. l. 2. and as, many times, *men in a scuffle lose their weapons*, &c.] A very fine image. The queen in the cabinet and the two princes in the field were the authors of these disorders.

Par. 279. l. 12. though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it, &c.] An admirable observation bought by the noble author's own experience, but bought too dear.

Par. 279. l. 21. that hopeful young prince.] He had all the qualities of the great prince of Condé in a very subordinate degree, except his personal courage, which perhaps was equal, though by reason of an inferiority in other qualities it would not appear to be so.

Par. 280—283. The whole of this excellent.

Par. 282. l. 1. Amongst those who were nearest the king's trust . . . there were some, &c.] Meaning himself.

Par. 284. l. 12. *observed with all punctuality*.] Not at all to the benefit of his person or his place, as that *punctuality* had degenerated into eastern pomp. But his different fortunes had brought him into these different extremes, which in prosperity prevented his being beloved, and in his adversity hindered his being revered.

Par. 286. l. 74. which hath made me enlarge this digression so much, &c.] This noble historian understood his task incomparably well. Yet has party so blinded the understanding of some who most pretend to taste, that because they dislike his political principles, they will not or cannot see, that in the knowledge of human nature (the noblest qualification of the historian) this great author excels all the Greek and Latin historians put together.

Par. 295. l. 15. it awakened many to apprehend the imme-

diate hand of God in the judgment, &c.] It must be owned there was absurdity enough in this man's conduct to justify the old observation, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*.

Par. 296. l. 15. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a *misfortune than a fault*.] But whose fault was it that the marquis of Hertford, who so well knew the country, and who was so well beloved where he was known, was displaced to make room for prince Maurice, who was a stranger, and became hated as soon as he was known?

Par. 298. l. 1. Though the king's success and good fortune had met with a check in the relief of Gloucester *and the battle of Newbury*.] I am afraid, by the words here dropped, that the parliament had too much reason to make a victory of it.

Par. 300. l. 14. and if the parliament should not *return to their regular obedience*.] i. e. let things stand on the same footing they were before the tumults of Whitehall. This was what the king wanted. What the parliament wanted, was to share his prerogative with him, both in the military and civil department, for their own security for what was past. This, while each party had the sword in their hands, was the fixed resolution of each not to depart from. Let the intelligent reader then judge, whether it was possible to end the quarrel by a treaty, before one of the parties was subdued; and then it was (and it might have been easily foreseen that it would be) too late.

Par. 301. l. 13. *he would interpose to pacify the differences, by such expedients as should be most conformable to the ancient laws and customs of the realm*.] This, after all, was a very sage interposition. It implied that *the differences were to be pacified by expedients*; i. e. that some satisfaction was to be given to the parliament for their security; but that care was to be taken that those *expedients* did not disturb or violate the constitution. This sage proposal pleased neither party. The king, we see, expected the *parliament should return to their regular obedience*; i. e. leave the constitution in the state they found it, without further security to themselves; and the parliament was for altering the constitution.

Par. 304. l. 16. *And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy had arguments enough to increase it*.] The court passed this judgment, because they were so egregiously disappointed in what they so foolishly expected, that the *king*

of France would assist Charles bona fide in such a manner as Charles himself should propose ; i. e. fight his battles for him.

Par. 305. l. 19. a messenger from the parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the houses.] This is highly probable from the character of Mountague, very forward in business, and a kind of favourite of the queen mother, and so the object of Mazarine's jealousy.

Par. 309. l. 2. but the evidence of the king's *aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses.*] Something or other is always dropping from the noble historian, which would persuade one to think, that the heads of the parliament party were excusable in thinking that the king would take his revenge on them if he could.

Par. 313. l. 22. *being startled at the statute* of the 25th year of king Edward III.] This statute evidently relates only to particular private men.

Par. 318. l. 2. that they should *be tried by a council of war, as spies ; which was done at Essex house.*] I can see no injustice in this, after what had passed between the two houses. The king might with equal sense have sent one of his messengers to take the parliament general into custody who by the old rules of law was guilty of high treason, as send a messenger with his writs into a town of war in arms against him.

Par. 320. l. 1. There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, &c.] Clement Walker, author of *The System of Independency* ; a famous libel on that faction.

Par. 320. l. 21. and *if he had not incumbered himself with command in the army.*] He committed the very same blunder then that lord George Sackville did of late.

Par. 321. l. 10. and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom.] Prince Rupert afterwards defended Bristol in the same unaccountable manner, who certainly wanted not courage ; and this obliged him likewise to *depatriate*.

Par. 321. l. 25. whilst others considered it as a *judgment of Heaven.*] This great historian is always too free with his judgments. But the piety is more eminent than the superstition in this great man's foibles.

Par. 325. l. 6. and *a counsellor*, much trusted.] The historian himself.

Par. 325. l. 9. *he smiled, according to his custom when he could not answer.*] An admirable picture of a hackneyed courtier.

Par. 326. l. 2. that since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to parliaments, and *believed, &c.*] Experience taught them to *believe* so.

Par. 326. l. 7. when they were persuaded that their *very doing it made it lawful.*] It was no wonder that they who saw the parliament through two reigns stem the torrent of unlawful power, should be hardly brought to believe a parliament could act against law.

Par. 327. l. 9. yet he had no mind that *a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: . . . the governors of the parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace.*] This shews what has been so often observed, that neither one nor the other party desired such a peace as was good for the *whole*, but for themselves respectively. The king was not for having his power reduced to proper bounds, and the parliament was for altering the constitution.

Par. 329. l. 10. and *abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects.*] How could the historian say this, when at par. 300. l. 12. he had told us, that *the king hoped that France would really assist his majesty* (in case the ambassador could do nothing with the parliament by gentle means) *in such manner as he should propose?* And why should the historian disguise this, since the seeking for foreign assistance in a just quarrel was right policy?

Par. 330. l. 1. The lords justices and council had sent a short petition to his majesty, &c.] I see no reason why the king might not apply his rebellious catholic subjects in Ireland to his own purpose, as well as the parliament apply his rebellious puritan subjects of Scotland to theirs; the terms under which both these several applications were made having only this difference apparently to the advantage of the king—the papists only demanded a toleration under the established church, the puritans required (and it was granted them) an establishment of their discipline to the destruction of the national church.

Par. 337. l. 23. without the *consent of his two houses of parliament in England.*] But in all reasonable construction this could only mean while the parliament remained in legal subjection to

him. On the whole, the king was perfectly free from blame throughout this whole Irish affair, from first to last, as a politician, and king, and governor of his people. But the necessity of his affairs obliging him at the same time to play the protestant saint and confessor, there was found much disagreement between his professions and declarations, and his actions in this matter.

Par. 340. l. 9. It is one of the instances of the strange, *fatal misunderstandings.*] A *misunderstanding* that had its birth from the king's long misgovernment.

Par. 340. l. 19. *but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection.*] This could only arise from the known bigotry of the queen, and her known absolute government over the will of her husband.

Par. 345. l. 21. that if a *personal* supply.] *Present*, surely.

Par. 374. l. 2. most graciously proclaiming pardon *to all without exception.*] I do not know whether this did not make the parliament confide less in the king's good faith than they would have done, had some been excepted from pardon, especially if they measured the king's temper and provocations by their own; for in their offers of grace and accommodations, there were many excepted.

Par. 380. l. 1. They said, *the question was not, nor needed they dispute, whether they might propagate their religion by arms.*] By this it appears that these wretched fanatics and hypocrites were ready to *dispute* for the affirmative whenever it became a *question*, nay, before; for they here profane a text to justify *the right of propagating their religion by arms*, by which text a curse is denounced against *Meroz* for not doing what in their modesty they say they will *not dispute* for the right of doing.

Par. 381. l. 21. In the time of *animosity and appetite of revenge.*] And was not *animosity and appetite of revenge* now at the height?

Par. 382. l. 1. to shew that they had *a clear prospect of whatsoever could be said against them.*] Extremely well observed, and as well expressed. The noble historian would insinuate, (and he insinuates the real fact,) that the Scots were fully conscious they were going to play the rogue.

Par. 386. l. 5. And *I cannot but observe, &c.*] There is no superstition in this observation. The earl of Essex was no

fanatic, and therefore had nothing to prevent his seeing the horrid hypocrisy of these two diabolic *declarations*. So that to support them by the power which his station gave them could not but be displeasing to the God of truth and justice.

Par. 392. l. 20. *the scope and intention of that letter being to make provision how all the members, &c.*] It must be owned the king's proposal was a pleasant one, to desire the members of the two houses at Westminster to let in a great majority of the members of the two houses at Oxford to vote along with them; after this there needed no treaty, for the king would thereby become master of his parliament.

Par. 393. l. 8. and do beseech your majesty to be assured, that your *majesty's royal and hearty concurrence* with us herein, &c.] It must be owned too, that the parliament was full as reasonable. They only desired the king would submit to them. This fully shews (what has been often before observed by me) there could be no peace till one side or other was become master. And so the parliament tells him in very plain words, when they say, *without which your majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real intentions concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated.*

Par. 394. l. 9. who began to practise all the *license of war*.] Not the *license of war*, which, having its laws as well as peace, is as much an enemy to *license*. What the noble historian should have said, (and but out of reverence for his own cause would have said,) *all the license of undisciplined troops.*

Par. 394. l. 14. lest they should *be thought to take upon them to be a parliament*.] Did they not take upon them to be a parliament when *either house appointed speakers*?

Par. 396. l. 23. *which few wise men believed it would ever be.*] Why should it, if it be the most equitable way of raising, as it is the most easy way of collecting taxes?

Par. 400. l. 43. *found it necessary to draw his army.*] Why did he not advance to fight the Scots before he returned to put a check to Fairfax's successes? But he appears throughout to have been a very poor fantastic general.

Par. 404. l. 13. out of too much *confidence in persons*.] Hamilton and his brother, who, notwithstanding all Burnet says in their behalf, were certainly a couple of knaves.

Par. 405. l. 10. made *some smart propositions* to the king for

the remedy.] I suppose either for the imprisonment or the taking off certain persons.

Par. 411. l. 20. and he found that he was much better able *to do hurt than good*; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, *whether* upon the death of the earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, *or whether he* was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for *pure want of courage*, &c.] i. e. to disserve than serve the court. He had raised a spirit against it which he could not lay. Why should the historian seek for more reasons than that first given?—the necessity of returning to his party, to preserve his consequence in parliament.

Par. 413. l. 5. and the *quality* of many of them.] As that of lord keeper Finch.

Par. 414. l. 25. there being then several whispers of *some high proceedings they intended against the king*.] The elector was in hopes that the parliament would set aside the king and his children, and give the crown to him as next heir.

Par. 416. l. 31. and *charging and routing some of their horse*.] It appears, by a MS. I have seen of this affair, written by an eyewitness from the steeple of the church, that the prince was obliged to charge and retire several times before he could break them. The action was within half a mile of the town, on the east side. The parliament forces were drawn up in a plain between the town and a hill, called Beacon-hill; on the top of which the prince formed, and from thence charged the enemy.

BOOK VIII.

Par. 1. l. 1. As the winter had been very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the king.] The actions of the army in this and the following book, in the campaigns of 1644-5. are chiefly taken from sir Edward Walker's Discourses; that is, the whole of Walker's Discourses are taken in.

Par. 1. l. 31. and was at present strong enough to have stopped or attended Waller in his western expedition.] Here was a rational *plan* well laid, and successfully entered upon; yet, without rhyme or reason, it was forsaken to pursue a *project*.

The truth is, the parliament commanders always outgeneraled the king's.

Par. 9. l. 33. how the lord Hopton's army lay quartered, *which was at too great a distance* from each other, . . . a regiment of foot of the king's lay *in too much security*.] So that while the general was on his Sussex *project*, no part of his plan, he left his army to have their quarters beaten up, by their not being at proper distances to relieve one another.

Par. 10. l. 12. *The governor* was a man of honesty and courage.] The high sheriff. It was not out of such that the parliament made their governors of places, but out of old soldiers of fortune. Here was no want of such, for the historian tells, many were without command in this very place.

Par. 10. l. 37. the clergy that attended that army *prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable*.] Indeed most villainously, as appears from the very book which a fanatic wretch, one Cheynel, who was at the head of the persecutors, wrote upon that occasion, yet extant; which being lent (as a curiosity) to Mr. Locke, to shew him the villainous spirit of this fanatic, the great philosopher returned it with this character of the performance. See Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 731.

Par. 13. l. 4. near the midway between Winchester and Farnham, *they came to know how near they were to each other*.] From these words one may fairly conclude the king's army was surprised; though the words would intimate that both armies stumbled upon one another. But his account of Waller's disposition shews the contrary.

Par. 17. l. 1. This battle was fought the 29th day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and *broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme* of the king's counsels.] This the foolish project of the Sussex high sheriff accomplished. Had the scheme of Hopton's waiting for Waller been pursued, this latter could have got no recruits, and must have stopped at Farnham for some time, the west not being disturbed, and the king's army entire and in good order.

Par. 17. l. 50. and would have been *glad to have been engaged with them*.] If the marquis was so willing, he should have done it when he had nothing else to do, when the Scots first entered England.

Par. 27. l. 14. And the king himself frequently considered *more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given.*] A certain mark of a weak prince, how much soever courtiers are ready to praise their master's *judgment*.

Par. 29. l. 1. The general, though he had been without doubt a very good officer.] A strange mixture of a worthless courtier and unable general.

Par. 30. l. 2. and an ill *understanding.*] Here *understanding* is used for *judgment*.

Par. 30. l. 14. and *the king himself.*] Here the king's opinion, though just, was directed by prejudice, and not reason.

Par. 30. l. 41. which often put *the king to the trouble of converting him.*] Finely expressed, and alluding to what he had said before of the *courtier part* of the general's character.

Par. 31. l. 5. *a virtue that none of the rest had.*] In a character like this, this defect appears to be owing to his not being a perfect master of his trade; and this indeed appears through his whole service.

Par. 31. l. 6. but, in the debates concerning the war, was *longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved.*] That is, he was the only one who was above the meanness of taking advantage of the king's distressed situation, to push their own selfish views of ambition or avarice. This gives us a sad picture both of the court and camp.

Par. 33. l. 5. yet *one of them.*] Lord Digby; he preserved that ascendancy which he formerly had over the other in the house, now in the council; and this was natural, otherwise Colepepper was of a nature to be overborne by words.

Par. 40. l. 1. This was the deplorable condition to which the king was reduced before the end of the month of May.] Had this been a great king, who knew how to command and be obeyed by his servants, and had abilities to accommodate himself to times and occasions, notwithstanding all his former mis-governments, his recent and ample reparation of the breaches into public liberty would have enabled him, when the sword was drawn, to denitche his factious parliament. But when his servants saw him governed by the queen, they thought it but reasonable that they should have a share in the ruin of the uxorious monarch.

Par. 60. l. 7. to make way for him, *sir Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been the year before removed from that charge.] I do not find that *sir A. A. Cooper* had occasioned this disgrace by any ill conduct. But *Ashburnham* was a court favourite, who afterwards conducted that famous night expedition from Hampton court to the Isle of Wight.

Par. 60. l. 36. had retired with *haste enough* towards Exeter.] i. e. instead of *rising* from before Lyme, he run away; indeed he seemed to excel in nothing but plundering the country.

Par. 62. l. 5. *Wilmot*, without ever *communicating it with the king, positively advised.*] That is, privately, and before he proposed it in council.

Par. 71. l. 13. *his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in . . . His majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the earl of Essex.*] His uxoriousness here occasioned, by accidents, one of the best steps the king ever made in the war.

Par. 74. l. 22. *being no sooner broken than they rallied again.*] This was what the king's horse from first to last were so far from being brought to do, that when victorious they could rarely be brought in order to charge again, not for want of courage, but total want of discipline.

Par. 76. l. 2. that *two great generals.*] These *two great generals* ought both to have been hanged, and where any discipline or law prevailed would have been so.

Par. 76. l. 17. having marched or run above ten miles northward, before they had news *that they might securely return.*] The king himself performed as heroical a part at the second battle of Newbury.

Par. 77. l. 1. But neither of them were friends to such deliberation.] In this the prince was most to blame; he was a soldier and a man of sense, whereas the other was only a fantastical virtuoso on horseback.

Par. 79. l. 4. *Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding.*] In this they made up in discretion what they wanted in soldiery.

Par. 82. l. 12. Besides that, he was *amorous in poetry and music.*] This is well expressed to intimate a *pretender* in both.

Par. 82. l. 19. He *loved monarchy*, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; *and the church, &c.*] He

loved *monarchy* and the *church*, it seems, just as he loved *poetry* and *music*; the one administered to his *pride*, and the other to his *vanity*.

Par. 85. l. 1. He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it, &c.] The noble historian is in nothing more excellent than in accounting for the actions of men by their *characters*, so justly and inimitably drawn, that you see in this clear mirror, as in a magician's glass, the past, the present, and the future.

Par. 85. l. 25. insomuch as he *sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to general King himself, for two days together.*] What a general! was he likely to be a match for Cromwell, who, in business, would admit a common soldier, not only to his bedchamber, but to his bed?

Par. 86. l. 1. From the beginning, he was without any *reverence or regard for the privy-council.*] This agrees very well with what the historian tells us was his motive for *loving monarchy*.

Par. 86. l. 17. and his authority overshadowed by the *superiority* of prince Rupert.] The prince was indeed every way superior to him, even in the fine arts, to which the marquis made such pretensions.

Par. 86. l. 32. with any *civil* and gracious condescensions.] Count Hamilton, in his Memoirs of count Grammont, thus characterises the prince.

Par. 87. l. 23. and had exercised the highest commands under the *king of Sweden*, &c.] What a declension from the king of Sweden to the marquis of Newcastle!

Par. 88. l. 16. without farther inquiring *what he had omitted to do.*] These were good Christians but bad politicians.

Par. 91. l. 15. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the news, he resolved to return back, &c.] Hitherto the parliament *commanders* had factions amongst themselves; and it was no wonder; for, as they had no thoughts of not returning to their obedience upon terms not agreed on, they would be naturally jealous of one another, and each seek his own peculiar interest: but as soon as this *model* took place, which it did the year following, the new commanders acted with the utmost harmony; and this was as natural; for, never intending to return to their obedience, they had but one common interest, which was the overthrow of monarchy. And these chose Fairfax for

their head, who, if he had any other views besides the amusement of fighting, was so exceeding stupid, that they had no apprehension that he should ever penetrate into theirs.

Par. 92. l. 3. and the *earl did not think him very kind to him.*] Roberts, by mere superiority of parts, got the better of Essex's wiser resolution; for he was much indisposed to Roberts, and wanted neither courage nor obstinate resolution to reject the advice of those he did not like. And *Roberts* did not use any of the insinuating arts (for it was not in his nature) to bring over his superior to his direction.

Par. 95. l. 25. who then proposed to himself to *make his nephew prince Rupert general of the army.*] If this was not mere nepotism, it shewed the king had no true judgment, but was struck with the eclat of the prince's actions, which had more of show than solidity, otherwise he would not have thought of putting a mere boy at the head of armies fighting for his crown.

Par. 96. l. 1. as his *jealous nature had much of sagacity in it.*] A very fine observation. Sagacity commonly makes men jealous; but here it is supposed the jealousy might make Wilmot sagacious.

Par. 96. l. 22. were quickly represented, in their *full magnitude*, to the king, by the lord Digby.] Characteristic of the famous secretary.

Par. 96. l. 37. when he was indeed *generally well beloved*, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed *were at all esteemed.*] He tells you for what; his jovial companionable wit. Nor indeed did these two able men, lord Digby and sir J. Colepepper, deserve much esteem.

Par. 98. l. 14. and the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered a petition, that his majesty would give them so much light of the lord Wilmot's crimes, &c.] He had said in the foregoing page, that Wilmot's removal only produced *a little murmur, which vanished away*; yet here we find it produced a great deal more, the necessity of shewing the officers the articles against Wilmot, who had been arrested for *high treason* at the head of the troops; whereas the articles only charged him with *indiscretions, vanities, and insolencies*, to which Wilmot returned a *very specious answer*. This, like that of the *five members* before the war, was cooked up by Digby, who never did any thing by halves.

Par. 101. l. 23. To all which the earl answered sullenly, that, according to the commission he had received, he would *defend the king's person* and posterity.] The two best officers of the presbyterian stamp in the parliament service were, without comparison, Essex and Fairfax; and at the same time, without comparison, the two greatest blockheads, which turned their courage into obstinacy, and thereby made them greatly promote designs which they were most averse to.

Par. 120. l. 6. with very many ladies, *who when not pleased themselves kept others from being so.*] Arising from that disposition in the sex to communicate their griefs, and to make them the constant subject of their conversation, whereby the infection of them soon becomes general.

Par. 121. l. 9. her majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman catholic, *prevailed with the king to confer that charge upon sir Arthur Aston, who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed where he was not known, and very much detested where he was.*] A scandalous instance of the king's uxorious temper. After this, what esteem could he expect from his friends, or what fear or trust would his enemies, either in arms or on a treaty, have of him?

Par. 121. l. 23. and so given up to *an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it.*] Ludlow tells us, that at the storm of Drogheda, where he fell in the assault, the soldiers who had his plunder found a girdle under his shirt, within which three or four hundred broad pieces were carefully quilted. He had early in the service lost a leg, and the soldiers had a common report among themselves that the fictitious leg was of gold, apparently arising from his known love of it. It was in pursuit of this imaginary leg that Cromwell's soldiers found the girdle.

Par. 133. l. 34. *beginning his war first upon his wife.*] This expression of contempt was well deserved. The historian knew sir Richard Greenvil and his actions well. He has been accused of prejudice in disfavour of this man, in the long account of his conduct; but neither the historian's nature, nor his regard for Greenvil's family, could have induced him to deviate from truth, to the prejudice of a man engaged with him in the same cause.

Par. 140. l. 11. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that estate; *which was what he most set his heart upon.*] This was apparently his motive for revolting.

Par. 142. l. 3. and less liable to fumes, than *those* of his family, &c.] Lord Digby.

Par. 146. l. 6. For when *prince Maurice* raised his siege from Lyme.] This prince Maurice was always committing faults, and under an incapacity of repairing them. This was a capital one.

Par. 154. l. 1. It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford, &c.] This is taken (as is most of the campaign) from Walker's history of the year. Of all lord Clarendon's descriptions of battles, the most intelligible is that of the battle of Edge-hill.

Par. 155. l. 19. *which was not well defended* by the officer who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot, &c.] This is another of prince Maurice's exploits.

Par. 157. l. 10. and in their *retreat*, with no considerable damage, save that the earl of Cleveland's horse falling under him he was taken prisoner.] By this the *retreat* seems to have been a little precipitate.

Par. 157. l. 19. *They came singing of psalms.*] These appear to be of the number of Cromwell's new-trained fanatics, who served under Manchester.

Par. 158. l. 3. *thought that his army had suffered likewise in all other places.*] The king had Newbury in possession. The action was on the outside the town, on the east, the north, and the west sides. What hindered the king from informing himself of what passed on the east side? and the night afforded him time to inquire. Instead of this, he ran away from his army fifty miles without stopping.

Par. 158. l. 8. *if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.*] No doubt, if they had found.

Par. 159. l. 13. and receiving intelligence at that time that prince Rupert was come, or *would be that night at Bath*, that he might make no stay there, but *presently be able to join with his army, his majesty himself, with the prince, and about three hundred horse.*] He softens what he can this shameful desertion of the king's, when his army stood most in need of his presence. Walker tells it more openly. But he softens it even to an excess

of ridicule. The king and prince went thither to tell Rupert they wanted him to come as fast as he could to the army. The truth was, the king wanted to get as far as he could from the enemy. This was the most ignominious of all the king's feats in arms, in which he dishonoured his army, who behaved bravely, as well as himself.

Par. 160. l. 31. *which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.*] I do not see the justness of this reflection. A rascal swayed by no laws of honour, and perpetually changing sides, as his pride, his extravagance, and avarice directed; and because he chanced to fall while in the king's service, where he then chanced to be, on no better motives than those above mentioned, his memory is to be sacred. But it was not the cause, but the motives of espousing it made the man's *memory* stink or keep sweet.

Par. 162. l. 4. *that so he might march back to Newbury, and disengage his cannon and carriages.*] He plainly had no such thoughts when he ran away from his army.

Par. 163. l. 31. *and if any honour had been lost the other day.*] There was no honour lost the other day but the king's personal honour, and that was lost to so great a degree as hardly to be recovered.

Par. 168. l. 1. the old general was set aside, and prince Rupert put into the command, which *was no popular change.*] It was unhappy that the king, who had brought himself into these distresses in time of peace, by governing unpopular, and was not to retrieve a desperate game by arms, should act *unpopularly*, i. e. unjustly and foolishly.

Par. 168. l. 18. *in which he lost his own dignity.*] For the sake of Rupert and Maurice.

Par. 169. l. 19. Neither of them valued their promises, &c.] These two similar characters incomparably contrasted.

Par. 169. l. 43. And of all his qualifications dissimulation was his masterpiece.] He at last turned monk.

Par. 179. l. 7. under the *absurd* imputation of his majesty's favouring the Irish.] It might be, and I think it was false; but why absurd? He was absolutely governed by his wife, who was a bigoted papist.

Par. 180. l. 1. To prevent this mischief, Goring, &c.] Admirable!

Par. 186. l. 13. who were the most *popular preachers*.] The spirit of liberty now awakened, made the people as much hate the severity of the presbyterian discipline, (though their ministers first awakened it,) as they had hated the episcopal. And these independent preachers declaimed now as violently against the presbyterian tyranny as the presbyterians had against the episcopal.

Par. 201. l. 18. for which Oliver Cromwell *assured them he was very equal*.] He was perfectly *equal* to their business, and to *Cromwell's* own. Cromwell had said to Bellievre, the French minister, that *a man never rises so high as when he does not know whither he is going*. This was certainly Fairfax's case, as appears by his own Memoirs. *He did not know*, from first to last, *whither he was going*.

Par. 204. l. 8. which his majesty (*though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present*) was persuaded to approve.] This shews that the king was sensible his servants were not so tenacious of his schemes of government as he himself was.

Par. 204. l. 36. his majesty should not name *a person*.] Lord Digby.

Par. 208. l. 24. And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for *his execution*.] The archbishop petitioned the lords that the sentence might be altered from *hanging* to *beheading*, which the houses agreed to. It was a mean request, not made so much to *judges* as to *enemies*. But here the *ruling passion* prevailed. The archbishop's last struggle was to prevent the dignity of his order from being stained by an ignominious punishment.

Par. 219. l. 34. And this is the *same Love*, who, some years after, &c.] This Love was a presbyterian minister, and here doing the business of the independents, whom he most hated; which looks as if he had been duped into this blundering conduct by somebody wiser than himself.

Par. 226. l. 19. *Mr. Cheynel*, one who had been fellow of Merton college in Oxford.] The infamous fanatic who teased Chillingworth to death, by the most villainous insults, under the name of charity.

Par. 228. l. 45. *that without bishops there could be no ordination of ministers, and consequently no administration of sacraments, or performance of the ministerial functions*.] As the king unhappily mistook this for gospel, it was no wonder that he, as an honest

man and a Christian, should so obstinately adhere to episcopal government.

Par. 228. l. 53. his coronation *oath*, by which he was bound to defend the rights of the church.] As to the oath, it was given to the public; and he and the public, who were the only parties concerned, might dissolve that tie.

Par. 228. l. 57. and the alienation of the *lands of the church*.] *Church lands* were given by the public, and by the public might be resumed.

Par. 229. l. 8. whether the parliament commissioners did believe that the government of the church by bishops was unlawful, &c.] However, both parties contended, the one for the divine right of episcopacy, the other for the divine right of presbytery; and this, forty years after Hooker had demonstrated that no form of church government was *jure divino*, but all *jure humano*. Nobody seemed to have remembered this but the marquiss of Hertford. See Whitlock's Mem. 2d edit. p. 128.

Par. 231. l. 10. *that they who never had heard such things said before, nor could understand in so little time what had been now said.*] This is very sophistical. The subject of episcopal and presbyterian government had been largely canvassed in public writings by the most learned men of both parties just before the war broke out.

Par. 233. l. 29. But in this particular, *he who was most reasonable amongst them thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security; and believed it could proceed from nothing else but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion.*] The parliament had some reason to think, that if they granted the king the militia, (which certainly was his right,) that they should lie at his mercy; they had much more reason to think, that whenever they lay at his mercy, (how much soever he tied himself to forgiveness by treaties,) that he would take his revenge. The king had little reason to think, that if he should lie at theirs, they could ever exert their power further than to keep his administration within the bounds of law. However, he denied with a better grace than they demanded, because he refused to divest himself of his right, and they demanded to be invested in what they had no right to.

Par. 234. l. 13. how the king had *voluntarily* committed the

carrying on that war, &c.] See what is remarked concerning this matter in the first volume of the History.

Par. 238. l. 1. *The twelve first days were now spent upon the three great heads, &c.*] The king's commissioners had evidently the better of the argument on every one of the *three great heads*. They had an establishment in favour of episcopacy—a *right* in support of the militia—and a reasonable *state policy* in favour of what was done concerning the Irish cessation.

Par. 245. l. 1. The earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit, &c.] An admirable picture of these two lords.

Par. 252. l. 32. And thus ended the treaty of Uxbridge, &c.] All this true. But we are told from good hands that the king would have made more satisfactory concessions, but that at this instant of time he had received a letter from Mountrose that he had subdued all Scotland, which was on the matter true. But so wayward was the poor king's fate, that his good as well as his ill successes brought him but nearer to ruin.

Par. 253. l. 26. *that if his majesty were dead, the parliament stood dissolved; so that there would be an end of their government.*] After what the parliament had already done, nothing was ever weaker than this imagination of the poor king's, that because by the constitution a parliament is dissolved on the king's death, that therefore this parliament in such a case would dissolve themselves.

Par. 283. l. 42. *that the immediate hand of Almighty God &c.*] Perhaps this was as weak a remark as the historian ever made, certainly unworthy of him. These men did not act more against conscience in siding with parliament against the king than many others; they were not distinguished for their violence in opposition, and they returned to their obedience sooner; and yet these are picked out for the objects of divine vengeance. *The tower fell upon them*, yet certainly they were not sinners above the rest of the *Galilæans*.

BOOK IX.

Par. 2. l. 23. *as shall seem to call both his wisdom and his courage into question.*] This is fairly saying, and like an honest man, that the king wanted both; which was indeed the case throughout his whole reign, both in peace and war.

Par. 2. l. 37. *than to proceed &c.*] Proceeded.

Par. 2. l. 38. *not totally abandoned &c.*] Now.

Par. 3. l. 34. *and for his vindication.*] This does not at all clash with what he had said in the foregoing page, concerning the *precise rule of integrity* which he professes to observe. For though the end of history, in general, be for the information of posterity, yet the honest purposes of any particular historian may be the vindication of what he thinks to be an injured character.

Par. 7. l. 15. *where his horse committed such horrid outrages.*] It is to be observed, that those court colonels, who had entered into a design before the war to bring up the northern army (raised against the Scots) to overawe the parliament, were the very officers, raised to high commands in the king's armies during the war, who did the king more mischief than all his enemies, by their villainous license and debaucheries.

Par. 7. l. 45. *was, by special order, recalled to Bristol . . . but the lord Hopton being likewise field-marshal of the west.*] Intimating, that the king favoured this old abandoned courtier against the bravest and most virtuous general in his service.

Par. 19. l. 16. *a very negligent and [disdainful] mention of the person of the king.*] As governed by his wife.

Par. 30. l. 26. *Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the west, &c.*] This single intrigue ruined the king irretrievably, by dividing this small army.

Par. 31. l. 42. *if he were born to serve his country.*] Indeed he always carried a fatality along with him to the disservice of the king.

Par. 32. l. 4. *enriching the licentious governor thereof.*] Sir H. Bard.

Par. 32. l. 6. *and took his leave of it in wantonly burning the noble structure.*] Walker says it was burned by prince Rupert's command, which is by much the most likely.

Par. 34. l. 26. *when the evil genius of the kingdom in a moment shifted the whole scene.*] The terrible disaster at Naseby, as terribly and sublimely announced.

Par. 36. l. 1. *The number of the king's foot which remained did not amount to above five hundred above three thousand.*] There must be some mistake here. The smallness of the number of

foot is incredible in itself. Besides, Whitlock says that the parliament took 4,500 of the king's foot prisoners at Naseby.

Par. 41. l. 9. And that *difference* was observed shortly from the beginning of the war in the discipline of the king's troops.] That is, the king's troops were *undisciplined*, and those of Cromwell and Fairfax *disciplined*; for nothing but that could make the difference, where the *courage* was equal. But the difference of the generals too must be taken into the account. Rupert had no genius for war, otherwise he could never have repeated the same fault twice, at *Edge-hill*, *Marston-Moor*, and now again at Naseby. His only military quality was courage; and in this he was equalled by Fairfax and Cromwell, who had other eminent qualities of service besides.

Par. 42. l. 3. when the king and the kingdom were lost in it.] A sentiment dictated by a generous despair, and as nobly expressed.

Par. 42. l. 14. and then went to Hereford, with some *disjointed imagination*.] He would not say they had any *reason*; it was only an *imagination*; and even that he thought too good a name for their motive of going to Hereford, and therefore calls that imagination a *disjointed* one.

Par. 42. l. 24. *And nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the king should amuse himself about forming a new army, &c.*] Nothing indeed could be more wondered at than this conduct in an able monarch; but it did not disgrace any of this king's former conduct.

Par. 47. l. 36. at a time that he used to mention *the person of the king with great contempt*.] It is certain that the king, for his uxoriousness, was held in great contempt by the more licentious part of the court, and in great pity by the more sober part.

Par. 48. l. 22. whereof *prince Rupert* had told him (as he said) some thought him not a man fit to be trusted.] This was a very poltron trick of his highness.

Par. 52. l. 16. by the *intolerable pride and incorrigible faction*.] Their ambition for command was neither to serve the common cause, nor to acquire glory by success in arms, but merely to empower them to plunder the country, and to waste the spoils in luxury and riot.

Par. 52. l. 33. and that it would prove of ill consequence, and

beget a mutiny, if they should receive a weekly pay when none of the rest did, *nor any army the king had in England.*] Was it possible under this singular circumstance, while the parliament forces received pay, and were under discipline, there could be any other issue of the war?

Par. 58. l. 20. inveighing likewise in *an unpardonable dialect against the person of the king.*] We oft meet with accounts of this license in the king's courtiers and generals in traducing the person of the king; the knowledge of the particulars of this license would have been curious.

Par. 66. l. 6. *and it was exceedingly wondered at*, that when he saw in what condition he was, &c.] This is certainly to be understood as a severe condemnation of Rupert's conduct, and I think a just one.

Par. 67. l. 34. *The king stayed at Ragland &c.*] Walker has here a remarkable passage; "His majesty went to Ragland castle, and there stayed three weeks; and, as if the genius of that place had conspired with our fates, we were there *all lulled asleep with sports and entertainments; as if no crown had been at stake, or in danger to be lost, till the marching of Fairfax awakened us,*" &c. par. 37.

Par. 68. l. 6. And here again the *unhappy discord in the court* raised new obstructions.] His reverence for the king and court has deprived us of the most curious part of his history; a detailed account of these court intrigues, which he studiously avoids on all occasions, even there where he acquaints us with the fatal effects of them.

Par. 68. l. 23. which would have put him into a *posture much better* than he was ever afterwards.] The court seems to have been absolutely dementated. There was now no other reasonable measure to be taken than for the king to make his last stand in the west.

Par. 69. l. 18. and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or *so much ashamed of not having done it.*] There were very few of the king's generals throughout the war that ever did their duty.

Par. 71. l. 18. *So that, instead of providing men to march with the king, they provided a long list of grievances; from all which they desired to be relieved before they would apply themselves towards*

the relief of Hereford.] By this we see, that *redress of grievance* before *aid* afforded was not the temper of this or that assembly, of this or that party or faction, but the natural English spirit under oppression.

Par. 72. l. 6. and he was of too impetuous a nature to submit to any thing for *conscience or discretion or duty.*] On every other occasion than resistance of oppression from the sovereign, the noble historian would have qualified these honest Welchmen's call for redress by a nobler epithet than *sturdily*, and said *steadily*.

Par. 72. l. 40. And so the king, after all his *endeavours* were rendered fruitless.] *Endeavours* to come to no resolution till there was no choice left.

Par. 83. l. 6. according to appointment, the person he had desired went to him.] Sir Edward Hyde himself.

Par. 85. l. 25. Whether the natural *irresolution* of those about the king, or the *imagination* upon this report, &c.] This is chiefly to be charged on lord Digby; for the fertility of his *imagination* occasioned his *irresolution*.

Par. 85. l. 40. within three days there was an appearance of *full three thousand foot.*] The royal resources, even after the loss at Naseby, were so many and powerful, that there only wanted a great king, who could be his own general, to retrieve the game; such a one as Charles's father-in-law, Henry IV.

Par. 87. l. 32. and his majesty received with *so full joy into the city of Hereford*, that there was not the opportunity embraced to discommode at least, if not to ruin the Scottish army.] i. e. the king suffered himself to be amused with the pageantry of a rejoicing from the mayor and aldermen of Hereford, when he should have been pursuing the disheartened Scotch army.

Par. 88. l. 1. But the *king's heart* was now so wholly set upon *the relief of Bristol.*] As if those two things interfered; but something was to be said to cover the king's ill conduct.

Par. 89. l. 9. which, considering the *unspeakable indulgence* his majesty had ever shewed towards that prince.] Was this a proper treatment of a licentious soldier of fortune, whose service he accepted in a war with his parliament, where each party was to conciliate the affections of the people by the exactest dis-

cipline? on such occasion no *indulgence* should have been given to the licentious temper of an insolent young prince.

Par. 96. l. 10. where *his mother is to have the sole care of him.*] The uxorious monarch had apparently promised this to his wife. So the reasons of the counsellors went for nothing.

Par. 102. l. 16. What you desire in your letter of the twenty-second of May shall be observed.] A couple of precious generals, who, when they had, by their ill conduct, drove their master on the brink of the precipice, instead of joining all their endeavours to bring him safely off, were caballing together to support one another's power to the destruction of their master's small remaining hopes.

Par. 115. l. 44. as an argument against *his majesty's sincere intentions . . . would take themselves to be so highly disobliged by that act; and they would lose all confidence in their future counsels.*] The historian judges right, that both the king's friends and enemies would have judged this to be disingenuous dealing; and if, as he observes, the king's *council* would thereby lose all confidence in the king, (for that is the meaning of the jargon of the council *losing all confidence in their future counsels,*) what must the parliament do?

Par. 121. l. 9. and was *generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the prince's commission.*] Had he done this after the battle of Marston Moor, he had done the king much service.

Par. 126. l. 16. But if it had not been for that extraordinary and unusual accident of the flying of his own troops, *because the enemy fled.*] This expression shews the historian's contempt of these troops, which, by being so oft beat, routed at Naseby, frightened by Lesley's horse, and dispersed by Pointz, came at length not to know their friends from their enemies.

Par. 126. l. 26. *And the temper and composition of his mind was so admirable.*] A very polite periphrasis for complacency in his excessive vanity.

Par. 131. l. 29. and went to *Wyverton.*] Bynenton, or Watton.

Par. 132. l. 26. that he should not acquaint *the princes, or any of their company, with it.*] Walker gives the reason, that as they had acted so undutifully, they should have no share in the honour of the service.

Par. 132. l. 67. with persons of entire devotion to him, and of *steady judgments.*] Hinting at lord Digby's.

Par. 134. l. 9. besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the command of a *dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army*.] Insinuating in this high wrote picture, that both heaven and earth had concurred to their destruction.

Par. 135. l. 8. *horse whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away*.] See par. 133.

Par. 142. l. 14. of which so near advance of the enemy . . . he had not known but by a lieutenant *who was accidentally plundering* in those parts, and fell amongst them.] A fine picture of these dissolute undisciplined troops, that all their outguards, even on the approach of the enemy, were their straggling plunderers.

Par. 144. l. 1. The enemy advanced to Stratton, and so to Launceston; where *Mr. Edgecomb, &c.*] They have been nothing but *borough-jobbers* ever since.

Par. 148. l. 7. *who sware* they met him at Uxbridge.] This was a cavalier oath; for they swore with the same ill faith they fought.

Par. 167. l. 25. from those who pretended to *erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ*.] This seems to allude to a vote which at this time passed in the house of commons, and which Whitlock relates in these words; "The house being informed that an intended petition for *establishing presbytery as the discipline of Jesus Christ*, they voted it to be scandalous." Independency at this time beginning to get the upper hand in the house of commons.

Par. 168. l. 3. (the general only excepted, *who thought himself a presbyterian*).] His best reason for thinking so was because his wife was one.

Par. 171. l. 22. But it was made known to her *that her presence would not be acceptable in France*.] Richelieu was not mistaken in believing the daughter full as vicious, intriguing, and ambitious of rule as the mother.

Par. 172. l. 26. So that how great things soever this last minister performed for the service of that crown.] The civil war of the Frond is no contradiction to this truth; *for the disposition of the whole nation to subjection* was the true cause why such men as the coadjutor, the prince of Condé, and Turenne, could do so little, when they took arms against the court.

Par. 173. l. 29. and might make himself arbiter of the *peace between the two crowns.*] Mazarine might reasonably suspect this, if Bolingbroke's anecdote may be depended on, who says, that Charles I. before the troubles was sensible that the balance of power between France and Spain was changing apace; and therefore, when he found that Richelieu had some designs on Flanders, he sent him word, that if the French persisted in that attempt he would come over at the head of twenty thousand men to oppose it.

Par. 177. l. 24. that they would never insist *upon the settling any other government than was at that time practised in London.*] This, as the great historian observes, is a very *memorable* circumstance, and shews how much the presbyterians were answerable for the overthrow of the constitution. All the difference between them and the independents being only this, that they were indeed for having a pageant of a king, but the other went to the abolition of the very name.

BOOK X.

Par. 12. l. 1. The two lords found the queen *much troubled.*] This was no maternal affection, as appeared from all her conduct with regard to her son, but her impatience to be in business, and have her son to govern, as she had governed her husband.

Par. 13. l. 17. He was a person of so rare a composition by nature and by art, &c.] This stroke of Digby's character very finely touched. And indeed his great genius in drawing characters is never more happily exerted than when lord Digby comes cross his pen. And the exquisite and natural touches of this kind, is more than a thousand arguments of his being superior in all senses to this his capital enemy. For had resentment and revenge directed his pen, he never would, indeed he never could, have given us a picture of this very extraordinary nobleman.

Par. 13. l. 47. *resolving*, that, upon the strength of his own reason.] Used in the sense of earlier writers, for being assured.

Par. 14. l. 5. He had no sooner *discharged himself of this imagination.*] Finely expressed.

Par. 19. l. 1. As soon as they came to Jersey, he [the lord

Digby] used all the means he could to persuade *his friend* &c.] This was sir Edward Hyde himself.

Par. 20. l. 1. His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, &c.] This whole episode of lord Digby's adventures from Dublin to Paris is incomparably told.

Par. 23. l. 13. But as it is no unusual *hardheartedness* in such chief ministers to sacrifice such instruments, how innocent soever, to their own *dark purposes*, &c.] This noble historian, whose virtue and integrity caused him to fall a sacrifice to the most *hardhearted* monarch that ever was, yet had such a veneration for courts as made him qualify every species of villainy there (as may be seen throughout this History) by the softest terms. So here he calls a treachery, which none but the devil, or those instructed by him, would commit, by the *soft* name of *hardheartedness*. However, he gives the devil his due, when he supposes it done for some *dark purposes*, worthy of that inspiration.

Par. 25. l. 7. but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their *ambition or their profit*, which were always *powerful and irresistible spells* upon that people.] So says Milton, in his character of the presbyterian faction, in his History of England.

Par. 26. l. 46. when there evidently appeared to be the *most hostile jealousy* between the independent army and them.] Ready to go to blows, which they did soon after.

Par. 27. l. 1. I do promise, in the name of the king and queen regent, &c.] This is in the style of a state, which had for many ages assumed the protection of the Scottish nation from the injuries of England. Under this title the king was willing to accept their guarantee. So low was this unhappy monarch reduced in honour and power.

Par. 29. l. 12. that *they could not give their consent that the marquis of Mountrose should go ambassador into France*.] This denial was on account of that relationship the Scotch nation bore to the French, mentioned above.

Par. 31. l. 56. The governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being relieved, &c.] This seems much for the honour of the parliament commanders, as if they esteemed bravery in their enemies, which was indeed natural to brave men.

Par. 32. l. 10. *but those officers would submit to no such engagements.*] It would have been a breach of their trust; and that the king should be willing to take the words of those who did so, is indeed surprising. This, and the historian's concealing their names, shew that this was some intrigue begun between those parliament commanders and some of the king's bed-chamber counsellors: and from intrigues of this kind much mischief afterwards proceeded.

Par. 33. l. 2. *which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his journey.*] This half trust was certainly impolitic. It gave the Scots army a pretence to break their engagement, as the king had not performed his, by meeting their horse, which had he done, no impudence or perfidy would have enabled them to send their express to Westminster.

Par. 34. l. 28. Montrevil was ill looked upon, as *the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them.*] A more execrable crew of banditti never assumed the honourable name of an army, with whom honour and good faith went for nothing.

Par. 50. l. 15. and as much condemned *them* as the parliament.] The Scots.

Par. 53. l. 1. Then they employed their Alexander Henderson, and their other clergy, to persuade the king to consent to *the extirpation of episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland. . . . But the king was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded.*] Had the king acknowledged the sin of the *extirpation of episcopacy* in Scotland, he might well plead conscience against the repetition of the crime; but, while he thought he acted innocently in the change of church government in Scotland, why he should imagine it a sin to do the same in England is to me incomprehensible. Had he thought the change impolitic, as unfriendly to monarchy, he had reason enough in the refusal. Perhaps this was at the bottom, and he only chose to cover plain policy by more refined, and so, by bringing religion into the quarrel, strengthen his state views. If this was his end, he not only failed in his purpose, but, in exchange for the solid reputation of an able monarch, got only the disputed character of *sanctity* with his friends, and *bigotry* with his enemies.

Par. 56. l. 6. Upon which the queen, who *was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted*

with those about her.] This is one of the severest things he has permitted himself to say of this wicked woman.

Par. 56. l. 11. who knew the person well enough under *another character* than was like to give him much credit, &c.] A poet and a debauchee.

Par. 57. l. 24. the chancellor was an honest man, and would never *desert him* nor the prince nor the church.] This desertion of the prince was the beginning of those immense services he did him when king, too great to be repaid any otherwise than by his destruction.

Par. 58. l. 4. so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the prince of Wales, when his person should once appear in France, were as *unworthily complied with.*] He means as ill discharged: the author has here expressed himself very inaccurately and improperly.

Par. 79. l. 23. which, they said, *was to restrain the Spirit.*] This they called *liberty of prophesying*. The excellent Jer. Taylor took advantage of this phrase to make it the title of one of the finest books written in defence of *religious liberty* and toleration.

Par. 82. l. 19. and were called by a *new name fanatics.*] The thing was new, and therefore it could not but be that they should have a new name.

Par. 93. l. 15. *but it was yielded to.*] This was not so much to cajole the king, though there was something too in that, as to appear consistent in their great principle of *liberty of conscience*.

Par. 95. l. 1. The king was in great doubt how to carry himself; . . . Fairfax had been with him, and kissed his hand, and *made such professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery.*] They were equally averse to restore the king to his rights, with this difference, the presbyterians had an unconquerable aversion to episcopacy, and the independents to monarchy. The king, who thought episcopacy and monarchy must stand or fall together, was resolved to preserve both, or perish in the attempt; and he possibly might have preserved both, had his abilities been equal to his good-will.

Par. 96. l. 12. and having a friend in that court that governed.] Jermyn.

Par. 96. l. 35. *he had foretold all that was since come to pass . . .*

for he that loved him best *was very willing to be without him.*] Jermyn.

Par. 96. l. 62. being in truth *of several parties and purposes.*] Berkley was of the queen's faction, Ashburnham of the king's.

Par. 98. l. 7. and though he *had some ordinary craft* in insinuating . . . and *a free speaker of what he imagined.*] i. e. what every body gets at court.

Par. 103. l. 27. and they had *absolutely refused to gratify the king in that particular.*] Merciless tyrants.

Par. 103. l. 46. where the *presbyterian spirit* had power to deny it.] The worst spirit on this side h—.

Par. 105. l. 1. an expedient, which they had observed, by the conduct of those very men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired.] An expedient, by the conduct of which, they had observed those very men (against whom they meant to apply it) had brought to pass all that they desired.

Par. 111. l. 12. and *they* had too much modesty to think they could do amiss.] The speakers.

Par. 111. l. 28. the army being in truth *under so excellent discipline, that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed.*] Such an army must needs subdue both friends and enemies.

Par. 120. l. 35. out of which *memorials.*] The chief of which was sir Edward Walker's, of the campaigns of 1644-5, since published.

Par. 121. l. 47. *And here the foundation of that engagement was laid.*] If those who at this time governed the army had any real intention of restoring the king, they certainly were diverted from the duplicity they discovered in the king's character, manifested in this negotiation with the Scotch commissioners.

Par. 122. l. 49. which the army liked not, as *a violation of the liberty of tender consciences ; which, they pretended, was as much the original of the quarrel as any other grievance whatsoever.*] And, in fact, was.

Par. 123. l. 8. Brent, Pryn, and two or three other presbyterian ministers.] Sir Nathaniel Brent, translator of father Paul's History of the Council of Trent.

Par. 124. l. 16. and many who were *wickedly introduced.*] Such as Wilkins.

Par. 125. l. 17. *They affronted the Scottish commissioners.*] Their affronting the Scottish commissioners (without doubt by the direction of their superiors) looked as if those superiors had been earnest in their treaty with the king, and had a mind not to be interrupted in their bargain.

Par. 125. l. 28. that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to *trust* the king.] The king, by all the accounts of that time, even by some of those wrote by his own servants, acted a double and disingenuous part with those who governed the army. So that Cromwell's complaint below seems not to have been without foundation. On the other hand, the king's situation, and his opinion of those with whom he had to deal, being divided into three parties, who had all different interests, it was a great temptation to him (in order to make sure of one) to negotiate with all, as he had confidence in none, and, to say the truth, he had little reason. Otherwise, had they given him cause to think well of their sincerity, this treating with them all at the same time had justified their complaint and breaking with him.

Par. 125. l. 54. Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained, &c.] All this seems to justify Cromwell in point of honour, and is very consistent with all he said to Huntingdon.

Par. 127. l. 17. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas.] This indeed looks as if he had been betrayed by his servants; otherwise, why should he, who was consulted with about his *transporting* himself, deny the knowledge of the design? But they who deceived him did not intend it should be to him harm, but probably were first deceived themselves.

Par. 134. l. 1. It is true [that] they *both writ apologies.*] These have been published since. Ashburnham's narrative is very poorly written. It is wholly employed in vindicating his own integrity from the charge of betraying his master to Cromwell and Ireton on corrupt motives, without any account of the particulars of the transaction. Berkley's narrative is much better written, and more curious, as giving a detailed account of the whole affair.

Par. 140. l. 6. and likewise to prevent any inconvenience or mischief that might result from the *drowsy, dull presbyterian humour of Fairfax; who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet*

contributed to bring it all to pass.] This admirably characterises their general; who, as appears from his printed Memoirs, seemed to know little or nothing of the cause of the public quarrel.

Par. 146. l. 11. Cromwell declared that the king was a man of great parts and a great understanding.] See par. 125.

Par. 146. l. 19. *that whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had at the same time secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners, &c.*] This was undoubtedly true. But how far it was just to combat deceit with deceit, in a public negotiation between a king subdued and his subjects triumphant, is not a thing easy to be decided. However, it was evidently his ruin.

Par. 146. l. 48. In the mean time the king, who had from the time of his coming to *the Isle of Wight enjoyed the liberty of taking the air.*] This was another unaccountable piece of conduct in the king, that when he had been brought to the Isle of Wight he knew not how, but, when he could not engage Hammond's word to let him go as he came whenever he should choose it, saw and said that he was ruined, that he should not employ the liberty he had from his first coming to the arrival of the parliament commissioners, to take the first opportunity of escaping. But the bringing him to the scaffold seemed to be as much the work of inevitable destiny as any event recorded in the civil history of mankind. Otherwise *Watson's* early intelligence left the king nothing else to do.

Par. 151. l. 13. the people might not be poisoned with the *belief* of it.] i. e. *belief* of the allegations contained in it.

Par. 167. l. 1. It was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, &c.] It is certainly true, that those who promoted all this confusion, whether independents or presbyterians, were rogues alike, though of different kinds, and equally obnoxious to all the established laws then in being.

Par. 168. l. 29. Machiavel was in the right, &c.] Our historian was the first sober and virtuous writer I know of who has done this fair justice to the character of Machiavel.

Par. 169. l. 1. Cromwell, *though* the greatest *dissembler* living, always made his *hypocrisy* of singular use and benefit to him.] This he observes, because, generally speaking, a man got into

the habit of *dissembling* neglects to make the best use of his hypocrisy, and is besides unable to make the best use of it when it is become notorious.

Par. 169. l. 43. *he sung all psalms with them to their tunes.*] This may be understood either literally or figurately. In the figurative sense the expression is very elegant.

Par. 169. l. 67. would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another *who had no eyes*, and so would be willing to be led.] A very just character of the two generals.

Par. 170. l. 50. after all his *hypocrisy towards the king and his party.*] Of all Cromwell's acts of hypocrisy, this here mentioned to the king is the most questionable. The king was as insincere with him as he could be with the king.

Par. 171. l. 18. and which their preachers told them *were against conscience, and an invasion of their religion.*] The forcing episcopacy upon them.

Par. 171. l. 20. [from] which [they] had *vindicated themselves so rudely and unwarrantably.*] The first invasion of England.

Par. 171. l. 29. *And in this enterprise, the success crowned their work.*] The second invasion.

Par. 171. l. 42. *to make a second invasion of the kingdom.*] This which he calls the *second* was indeed the *third*.

Par. 172. l. 14. and the destruction of that *idol* they adored.] Presbytery.

Par. 173. l. 24. *for many, who did undertake to perform those offices, did not make good all they promised; which made it plain they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.*] It appears from the letters between Cromwell and Hammond, which passed during the king's close confinement in Carisbrook-castle, lately published, that his majesty was perpetually betrayed by those in whom he then put a confidence to carry on the correspondence between him and his friends to facilitate his escape.

Par. 174. l. 14. *who were more learned and rational.*] They certainly were so. Such as Goodwin, Owen, &c.

Par. 174. l. 26. *Liberty of conscience* was now become the great charter.] It appears from hence how well the noble author understood what Dr. Jer. Taylor at that time so well taught.

Par. 175. l. 16. And hereby none of his highness's servants &c.] Who wrote the memoirs of his own time, not long since pub-

lished, acknowledges, that he was very certain that the queen had a child by Jermyn.

BOOK XI.

Par. 1. l. 5. and in the settling that *blessed government* they had deprived themselves of.] He must mean the monarchy in the enjoyment of its legal rights. For as to the administration of it under Charles I. the noble author hath himself, in the beginning of this History, fairly and honestly shewn, that if ever there was a tyranny exercised by a limited monarchy, it was exercised by Charles.

Par. 11. l. 1. These two were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair.] This character of Lauderdale agrees exactly with that which Burnet gives of him, who knew him well; and with his infamous administration in Scotland, when Charles II. employed him to introduce arbitrary power there.

Par. 27. l. 22. Mr. L'Estrange spake to them in *a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a man in authority.*] This was the famous sir Roger, and is here well characterised.

Par. 32. l. 1. The prince's remove was by every body thought so necessary, that the *lord Jermyn*, as was pretended, found means to borrow, &c.] Jermyn, who had the queen of England's purse, without doubt furnished the prince out of that, as money borrowed by him.

Par. 36. l. 26. (who desired to serve the king *upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty*).] i. e. without insisting on terms.

Par. 40. l. 7. set all the other *wheels going in England which had been prepar[ing] all the winter.*] Here was the revolt of the fleet, insurrection in every part of England, an universal disposition in the people, and a Scotch army to support all, and yet all failed; which shews, that no revolution can be brought about in spite of a brave, veteran, well disciplined army, indisposed to a change. The disposition to return again to monarchy in the old channel was not greater in 1660 than it was now in 1648. What made that attempt succeed, and this fail? Nothing but the party taken by the army. Monk carried it over to the son, and Cromwell kept it back from the father.

Par. 49. l. 22. *But the truth is, Cromwell* had so perfect a con-

tempt of the whole strength of [that] nation.] This was well observed as the true cause of the neglect; for had Cromwell thought such a measure as the garrisoning those two towns, as a matter of great importance, he would have regarded no treaties nor *acts of pacification*.

Par. 63. l. 13. *Herbert the attorney general*.] The historian has given a fine picture of *Herbert* in his own Life.

Par. 65. l. 3. that he would restore the ship *which belonged to his father's good subjects*.] This petition was even more impudent than the *solemn league and covenant*.

Par. 65. l. 8. *the countess of Carlisle*.] As vile a woman as her mistress.

Par. 65. l. 26. *But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him*.] A wise man can never fail of detecting a knave who talks much.

Par. 66. l. 7. with less care than *should have been used to preserve the zeal* of the king's party.] The neglect of the king's party after the restoration was only *ingratitude*; but to do it before was egregious folly, as it might have taught them what they were to expect for their loyalty.

Par. 78. l. 1. that the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer *had many misadventures*.] These are related at large by the noble historian in his Life.

Par. 83. l. 1. There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the river.] It was indeed astonishing. One can give no other reason than what is hinted at par. 194, that the queen dreaded his coming to Paris. And this was sufficient while her creatures Colepepper and Long governed the counsels of the fleet.

Par. 84. l. 29. *and because he was a man of a regular and orderly course of life and command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised men to reputation in that county*. There was only one man in the council of whom nobody spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his charge; and that was the lord Hopton. But there was then such a *combination*, by the countenance of prince Rupert with all the other lords of the court and the attorney general, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, &c.] One may judge from these words of the abandoned characters and disorderly conduct of the then followers

of the royal cause, and how little probability there was that they should ever recover this losing game, while there was but one man amongst them in that place that did honour to the cause, and him all the rest were in a *combination* to discredit.

Par. 126. l. 13. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancashire, and by a wonderful act of Providence was put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the king, and where he first performed a great service to the parliament.] *Poor Morrice* was not thought worthy the particular resentment of Providence, like lord Brooke and Hambden, though he was a debauchee and renegado, and they men of virtue and conscience.

Par. 130. l. 3. *who would have been more choleric if he had had less right on his side.*] This observation lets me well into prince Rupert's character.

Par. 130. l. 28. in which many men thought that he *was assured* [*prince Rupert*] would not be offended.] This reflects much upon prince Rupert's honour.

Par. 131. l. 31. *whose affections had been long dead.*] This observation is extremely just, both as it regards the genius of puritanism in general, and the state of it at that time.

Par. 132. l. 5. And the truth is, *the queen was so fully possessed* of the purpose and the power of the Scots to do the king's business, before the insurrections in the several parts in England.] The queen was the author of all this ill counsel; whose superstition made her despise the episcopal church, as much as her husband's superstition made him idolize it.

Par. 132. l. 35. and only *resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his mother.*] There was some excuse for him, none for his father.

Par. 137. l. 16. the prince believed that the countess of Carlisle, *who had committed faults enough* to the king and queen, had pawned her necklace, &c.] *Faults enough* to be hanged in her own necklace, if no other cord could be found.

Par. 141. l. 10. So he returned into England; *where he was never called in question* for stealing the duke away.] He was afterwards for many years a spy or intelligencer under Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary.

Par. 158. l. 13. either *to recover the[ir] broken spirits, or to manifest his own royal compassion for them,* he told the commis-

sioners.] They must needs be enemies to the success of the treaty who could persuade the king to this absurd and fatal counsel, which would so long protract the conclusion that Cromwell and the army (it could not but be seen) would be returned to put a violent end to it.

Par. 161. l. 1. However, this proposition was of so *horrid and monstrous* a nature.] It was indeed *horrid and monstrous*. Not for the reason here given, that all resistance of the royal authority was rebellion, but because *this* resistance or war of the parliament on the king was unreasonable and unjust.

Par. 162. l. 1. This refractory obstinate adherence of the commissioners, &c.] If he had broke with the parliament on the subject of the preamble, it had been more to his honour, as a great and wise prince, than breaking with them on the subject of episcopacy, or even of the militia.

Par. 162. l. 19. and then *it would be universally declared and believed*, how untrue soever the assertion [was], *that the king refused to secure the parliament, &c.*] This shews into what distresses the unjust prosecution of a cause always draws the offending, though successful, when they would repair their mischiefs. The king could not in honour consent to the preamble, and the leaders in parliament were excusable in thinking that without the preamble their life would be at the king's mercy. Pretty much the same may be said with regard to the *militia*.

Par. 169. l. 12. that if he did *not consent to the utter abolishing of episcopacy he would be damned.*] No better could be expected from such ribalds. Better might have been expected from the king's theology, than that if he did *consent he should be damned*; which was but the same nonsense differently predicated.

Par. 170. l. 9. *that whatsoever was not of divine institution* might very lawfully be altered.] Both the king and the commissioners understood their *Hooker* very ill, to whom both appealed. He shews that episcopacy, even admitting it to be of divine right, might lawfully be changed to another form of church government.

Par. 176. l. 24. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concerned himself and the public, &c.] The conscience and the honour of the poor king was in a strange feverish condition. To change the form of church government when his people required it, he might have done with a good conscience;

but to give up the whole body of his friends and servants to destruction, though some of the most considerable of them consented, was a sad violation, not only of all the rules of good policy, but of true honour, and he would have died gloriously to avoid that disgrace. He had repented of the like action once before in the case of Strafford, who had written to him to give way to the rage of his enemies against himself, in order to preserve his master.

Par. 190. l. 18. *And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of subjects, not satisfaction of favourites.*] Here the king seems to be more ingenuous than on any other occasion.

Par. 194. l. 8. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; *which must be believed was not from want of tenderness of his safety, &c.*] The queen of England. She was unwilling the king should interrupt her commerce with Jermyn. See par. 85.

Par. 194. l. 20. *because they believed imprisonment was the worst that his worst enemies intended towards him.*] A strange infatuation! after the superiority of the army and their principles were so well known to all. The fatal effects of fanaticism can only be avoided by eluding it, till its violence be worked off. So that nothing but the king's escape out of their hands was reasonably to be thought of.

Par. 208. l. 1. Then they renewed their old votes of no more addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the treaty, &c.] These, and the whole crew of the presbyterian faction, had doubtless as much to answer for overturning the constitution as the independents themselves. The preparation and beginning of all this mischief was the work of the presbyterians, because the independents, by reason of their want of credit and power, were unable to do it. The achievement was the work of the independents. And the opposition they now met with was more from the presbyterian aversion to the independents, than from any horror they had of the work, or repentance for what they had contributed towards it.

Par. 209. l. 14. that that protestation should be suppressed, and that no man should presume to sell or buy or to read the

same.] The two houses were now lost to all sense of right and wrong.

Par. 216. l. 1. At the same time the queen of England, *being struck to the heart, &c.*] She might well be so, when she had defeated the only means of preventing this dreadful catastrophe, by discouraging his rescue out of Carisbrook castle and his escape into France. See par. 194.

Par. 230. l. 1. From the time of [the king's] being come to St. James's, when he was delivered into the hands and custody of *colonel Tomlinson.*] Herbert, of the king's bedchamber, tells us, that this Tomlinson intercepted and stole a gold watch which the king had ordered to be conveyed to him through the hands of Tomlinson.

Par. 233. l. 6. though they had been *always* such as he need not be ashamed to own them before all the world.] How could he say this now, when he had owned otherwise in the course of the misunderstanding with the parliament in his papers to them before the war began !

Par. 235. l. 19. But it was quickly discerned that it was the general's wife, the *lady Fairfax*, who had uttered both those sharp sayings.] This was a very spirited woman, as appears from Fairfax's Memoirs. She shared the dangers of the war with him, both in his defeats and successes, while the scene was in Yorkshire.

Par. 237. l. 23. and being a *proud, formal, weak man.*] Pride in a weak man always shews itself in formality, and gratifies its humour in that ridiculous show.

Par. 237. l. 24. *being seduced and a seducer.*] Just as a bubbled gamester turns a setter.

Par. 238. l. 7. the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that ever was committed *since that of our blessed Saviour.*] Nothing can excuse this indecent reference in a pious man like the noble historian.

Par. 239. l. 3. in being deprived of a prince *whose example* would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation than the most strict laws can have.] Religion might have a loss in being deprived of the example of his private virtues, but sure civil government could have none in that of his public administration.

Par. 240. l. 8. *He kept state to the full*, which made his court very orderly.] Lady Leicester says to her husband, 1636, “ I have been at court. In his majesty (Charles I.) I found an inclination to shew me some kindness, but he could not find the way: at last he told me, that he perceived I was very kind to my husband when he was with me, which kept me very lean, for he thought me much fatter than I used to be. This short speech was worse to me than an absolute silence; for I blushed, and was so extremely out of countenance, that all the company laughed at me.” Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 472. And young lord Sunderland in the camp, 1642, to his wife: “ I never saw the king look better; he is very cheerful, and by the bawdy discourse I thought I had been in the drawing room.” Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 668.

Par. 243. l. 20. it is most certain, that in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun *he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general.*] It is true, that he had this share when he was murdered; but it was the having no share at all (by his long misgovernment) when the trouble began which enabled his murderers to do their business. It was his long misgovernment that estranged the hearts of the people from him, and it was the severity of his sufferings that brought them back to him: which is always the treatment of the people both to private and public characters.

Par. 243. l. 25. To conclude, he was the *worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived had produced.* And if he were not the best king, if he [were] without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other *prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues* and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.] The historian very judiciously omits, “ and the best monarch or governor.” What he adds, that no prince was ever unhappy who had half his virtues, is, I believe, very true. For it would be hard to find any prince besides him who aimed at arbitrary power with an intention to make his people happy, which he certainly had, as far as his superstition permitted that intention to operate. Whereas most other princes aim at arbi-

trary power merely to gratify some impotent passion. But a prince with Charles's virtues had no such passions to gratify.

Par. 244. l. 11. *nature.*] i. e. human nature.

Par. 245. l. 40. In a word, the confusion that they had at that time observed to be in that church, &c.] The difficulty or impossibility of finding the place, if the body were there, is an idle story. The king, who had received a large sum from his parliament for the solemnity of a public reinterment, contented himself with a very superficial search, and pocketed the money.

Par. 247. l. 11. However, they declared that the peers should have the privilege to be elected knights, or burgesses, &c.] Many more would have sat, and with reason, had they thought the new government stable.

Par. 251. l. 27. In this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money, &c.] It is something singular, that neither on this or any other occasion the historian should ever mention the king's virtuoso character, that was so very eminent. He had not taste for it himself, and thinking it beneath a great king, he buries the knowledge of it in silence.

Par. 254. l. 10. He urged the declaration which Fairfax the general had made to him.] Whitlock, speaking of this affair, says, *The general, and Ireton, and Whaley, and Berkstead*, delivering in their testimony, it appeared, *That lord Capel was to have fair quarter for his life, which was explained to be freedom from any execution of the sword, but not any protection from the judicial proceedings of a civil court. But of this learning I hope none of this nation will have use hereafter.* Mem. p. 381. Now admit the prisoners at Colchester to be *rebels*, and this *learning* may be fairly brought in use. The military has no authority to consider bodies of men in arms against them in any other light than as *enemies simply*, which when broken and overcome, the conquerors acquire the right of life and death over them. And quarter remits that right, so that their life cannot be taken by a *court martial*. The civil laws have still their right unimpeached, if these *enemies* are found to be *rebels*, which may call them to account after quarter given by the *military*. Whether these lords were *rebels*, in the sense of the laws of the state, was a question worthy of discussion. That *Lisle* and

Lucas, who suffered by a *court martial* after quarter given, were *murdered* against all law and justice, is certain.

BOOK XII.

Par. 2. l. 10. which without doubt was as great a passion of sorrow as she was able to sustain.] *Ironice*.

Par. 2. l. 13. in the mean time desired him *not to swear any persons to be of his council, till she could speak with him*. Whether it was, that she did not think those persons to be *enough at her devotion*, or that she would have them *to receive that honour upon her recommendation*.] She wants to govern him as she had done his father.

Par. 3. l. 3. and he *resolved to perform all filial respect towards the queen his mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected*.] This was almost the only good resolution that Charles II. adhered to.

Par. 6. l. 26. The delivery of the king's person into the *hands of the parliament at Newcastle had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole nation of Scotland*.] It is certain, that neither the Scots nor the English nation were answerable for the infamy, the one of selling, and the other of murdering their king. Yet the presbyterian faction, the majority in both nations, had drove him to those extremities, which forced him into the hands of his destroyers.

Par. 15. l. 19. He was then *a man of eclat*.] Card. de Retz, who at this time saw Mountrose in Paris, was so struck with his port and appearance, that, in his Memoirs, he says the marquis put him in mind of those ancient heroes that we meet with only in the relations of Plutarch.

Par. 15. l. 27. *And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services than to those who had done them*.] In this she was but like all other princes; so that amongst her many ill qualities, this ought to go for nothing.

Par. 15. l. 58. and prefer him *before any other of that [nation] in his esteem*.] In this unquestionably the chancellor judged right. The body of those Scotchmen, who pretended to be disposed to serve the king, expected much for the little they were resolved to do. They were self-interested and bigoted. Mountrose, inflamed with the love of glory, had nothing to ask for himself, or the public, but the king's countenance, to restore

his master to his just rights, despising those who *bartered*, and hating those who *conditioned* with their sovereign.

Par. 20. l. 11. She had likewise had long acquaintance and friendship with *one of the council*.] The noble historian himself.

Par. 21. l. 57. and yet I dare say nothing of this to him, either against the *covenant*, &c.] Yet this earl Lauderdale was afterwards the greatest persecutor of the covenant and covenanters that ever was; and being at the same time the most corrupt tool of arbitrary power, it shews that conscience had never any thing to do with his lordship's determinations.

Par. 37. l. 4. *He knew he was not in the queen's favour at all*.] This was the greatest as well as the most deserved compliment he could pay to himself.

Par. 54. l. 11. *Though her majesty could not dislike any resolution the king had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into Ireland, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution had been taken before she was consulted*.] The purpose of the noble historian here was to shew the reader that the queen's ambition to govern her son was for the sake of governing; for here she is represented as displeased, not with the *resolution taken*, for this she approved of, but for its having been taken without her leave.

Par. 75. l. 26. the lord Jermyn, who, in those straits the king was in, and *the great plenty which he enjoyed*.] He was kept by the queen.

Par. 83. l. 23. And it was plain enough that they heartily wished that they had not come, &c.] This is a fine compliment, and I believe a deserved one, to the ancient Spanish honour.

Par. 121. l. 16. and no doubt that consideration which *made most impression upon the king, as it had done upon his father, and terrified him*, &c.] Whatsoever the father's were, the son's adherence to episcopacy was entirely on political considerations.

Par. 121. l. 24. but thought it the best expedient to *advance her own religion*.] This certainly was in her wishes and endeavours: for the more freedom she took with her virtue, the more need she had to make reparation to her religion.

Par. 123. l. 12. [which] made it manifest enough that the *kings of the earth &c*.] On the principles of the noble author, who supposed the people made for kings, and not kings for the people, this reproof is just; but on the contrary principle,

these *kings of the earth* acted justly, since their people were not to be brought into a national quarrel for the sake of a personal injury.

Par. 125. l. 33. *that the enjoying the empty title of king, in what obscurity soever in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of king in any of his own dominions.*] Because the empty name of king abroad impeached no claim or right to any of the prerogatives of monarchy; but the being contented with that *empty name*, within his own dominions, implied a kind of cession of those rights.

BOOK XIII.

Par. 2. l. 6. *imagination.*] for suppositions.

Par. 4. l. 14. and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days.] This mad zeal, which in a common degree would have been most irksome and mortifying to the tempers of these two licentious young men, (the king and duke of Bucks,) was carried by those hypocritic wretches to such ridiculous and burlesque excesses, that they repaid those two young men, for what they suffered by fasts and long sermons, with mirth and laughter without end when retired in secret.

Par. 21. l. 30. But the Scots did not intend to part with them so easily.] Cromwell could not draw the Scottish army from their advantageous post. He knew that the army was entirely governed by their Mar John's. He therefore used this stratagem to provoke them. He entered into an epistolary dispute with them, in which he so heartily abused them, and advanced independency so high, that they were impatient to attack him, and so brought the army down upon him at Dunbar; which was the very thing Cromwell wanted.

Par. 30. l. 34. He raised by his own *virtue*, &c.] By *virtue* is here meant his great natural parts, as appears by what follows.

Par. 37. l. 15. *the lustre that some of her servants lived in.*] Jer-myn.

Par. 47. l. 48. *to whom the duke of Buckingham, notwithstanding all [his] former professions, gave himself wholly up.*] This seems to have been the first of a whole life of rogueries.

Par. 68. l. 32. and ask pardon of those who would not question him for it.] This was the unjust prejudice of honour; he would

not ask pardon of those who had resolution as well as a right to exact it.

Par. 71. l. 30. when, to his *astonishment*, the duke told him he hoped his majesty *would confer it upon himself*.] One would imagine this extravagant creature was bantering, and in the same humour as when he wrote about *the two kings of Brentford* in the farce. It was the fortune of this wretched man to do as much mischief to the morals of Charles the Second's court as his father had done to the politics of James the First's.

Par. 80. l. 4. Upon all the inquiry that was made, when a discovery was made of *most of the false and treacherous actions which had been committed by most men*.] i. e. *discovered* after the restoration.

Par. 107. l. 9. *they who had interest with her finding that all she had, or could get, [was] too little for their own unlimited expense*.] Jermyn her favourite.

Par. 118. l. 9. And therefore, when he was upon the scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedness, &c.] Had the presbyterians ever gained the power, (though they had then the name of the national church,) this fanatic Love had been at the head of their red-lettered saints.

Par. 119. l. 6. And that the terror might be universal, some *were put to death* for loose discourses in taverns.] Not death.

Par. 126. l. 11. by the custom of making *frequent relations of his [own] actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which nobody else ever heard of*.] By that time a liar has lost credit with every body else he comes to believe himself.

Par. 130. l. 23. *who were faulty*.] Jermyn.

Par. 130. l. 24. the queen.] She c—— her husband, and plundered when she could not rule her son.

Par. 133. l. 14. proceeded from another *less warrantable foundation*.] i. e. countenanced by men indifferent to episcopacy, and favouring the puritans for political ends.

Par. 134. l. 1. [The chancellor] told the king, &c.] It must be owned, that what the chancellor of the exchequer said to the king on this occasion shewed that the king's dignity and interest forbade him to go to Charenton.

Par. 134. l. 16. And the reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the chancellor [of the exchequer.] *as the implacable enemy of all presbyterians*.] An honest man at this time

could hardly be otherwise, when he reflected, that when the king had, by the early virtue of his parliament, made full satisfaction and atonement to his people for his preceding ill government, the incendiary presbyterian ministers drove the nation into this fatal war, big with private and public ruin.

Par. 134. l. 30. and the queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her religion *made her willing to appear* most displeased for his hindering the king from going to Charenton.] By this the noble historian would insinuate that the queen disguised her real motive of aversion to him, which was not (*as she was willing to make appear*) his aversion to popery, but his keeping the king from being governed by her. This the following paragraph makes still more evident.

Par. 136. l. 8. *But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person.*] This is expressed as if Massey had desired her protection, and she had not honour or *courage* enough to grant it. Whereas in the letter he wrote to her on this occasion, he only desires leave, as her son, the lord Grey's prisoner, to stay in her house for the cure of his wounds. See his letter in the newspaper of that time called *Mercurius Politicus*, N^o. 65.

Par. 141. l. 44. which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her.] *Jermyn*.

Par. 147. l. 10. the king well knowing that the same honour would be desired on the behalf of *another*.] *Jermyn*.

Par. 166. l. 17. *He told them, &c.*] It was said like a true patriot and an able minister.

Par. 171. l. 7. and such as had never been before seen *in this part of the world*.] Intimating, though erroneously, that there were such in China.

Par. 174. l. 23. who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man *of a very different temper from the other*.] This was giving a very good character of Ludlow; for, as to their republican principles, their fanaticism was equal.

BOOK XIV.

Par. 2. l. 1. Though he had *been forward enough* to enter upon the war with Holland.] Before, viz. book xiii. par. 169, his lordship had told us, that Cromwell consented to the Dutch war only to humour St. John. The truth is, the Dutch war was

one of the chief engines to effect his purpose. We find by Whitlock, that, immediately after the battle of Worcester, he formed his project of mastering the parliament. He would willingly have done it by becoming king, as we find by a conference between him and many of his friends then, and by a conference with Whitlock afterwards, in the latter end of the year 1652; both his ambition, and what he thought true policy, by the advantages he would reap from the act of Henry VII. concerning a king *de facto*, inclined him to this title. But he found great opposition. The principal officers were for a republic; and the lawyers and others, who were for monarchy, were inclined for one of the house of Stewart. The project therefore he thought proper to wave, but not his scheme of being at the head of the state, under some title or other. The only point was the fit juncture for putting his scheme in execution. When he first projected it, after the battle of Worcester, neither Ireland nor Scotland were totally subdued. He waited to see these two kingdoms settled, and then declared himself in the midst of the Dutch war, which was so far from hazarding his scheme, that it greatly promoted it, by its being a diversion to the public attention. And in choosing this precise juncture, was, I think, his masterstroke of politics.

Par. 23. l. 35. *that no protector after him should be general of the army.*] This was to cajole the *council of officers* with the prospect of two great offices instead of one, becoming vacant on the death of the protector.

Par. 66. l. 19. *though the pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity.*] Finely expressed, as if a *decay in generosity* as naturally and necessarily accompanied old age as a decay of health.

Par. 66. l. 34. In the conclusion of the discourse, the cardinal asked his majesty a question or two of matter of fact.] It was apparently something of the conduct of the Stewarts with regard to their Roman catholic subjects.

Par. 81. l. 1. It was well for the king that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris, &c.] This is a story very dishonourable to our hero, how great soever the distresses of himself and his family might be.

Par. 94. l. 46. *and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have.*] By this the historian would insinuate to the reader what was his real crime to the queen. It makes infinitely

for his honour; and as this was the fact, it was but fair to get the credit of it by the turn of this relation, which is conducted with much delicacy. In a word, the queen's credit with Charles I. had ruined the father, and this honest minister did all he could that the son should not be ruined by the same means; and in this he succeeded. Though he could not prevent the ruin of the house from other quarters, which was accelerated by his own ruin, brought about in such a manner as made the ruin of that worthless house the less to be pitied.

Par. 95. l. 5. and gave occasion to a bold person to publish amongst the amours of the French court.] Bussy Rabutin.

Par. 103. l. 45. so blind men are *whose passions are so strong, and their judgments so weak that they can look but upon one thing at once.*] Strong passions oft confine men to one object, and weak judgment hinders them from seeing that object fully and clearly.

Par. 112. l. 28. Both the king and his sister were naturally enough inclined to *new sights and festivities.*] These were ever the great passion of the house of Stewart.

Par. 116. l. 17. And this elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the *elector [palatine] &c.*] The elector palatine's conduct in the perpetual court he paid to the long parliament, when they most outraged his uncle, was very extraordinary. Nothing can account for it, but some secret hopes he had, that when they had set aside the king and his children, which he found them much disposed to do, they would choose him to succeed to the crown. The fondness of the sectaries for his family, whose interests had been so much neglected by James and Charles, made this no unreasonable hope. Nothing but this, I think, can explain what Whitlock tells us of a committee of both houses, in March 1646-7, *to receive some intelligence, which the prince elector desired to communicate to the parliament, of great concernment to the protestant religion.* This was in the style of a man who desired to recommend himself to them for his zeal for the good cause. And I make no doubt but that this was originally a project of his mother's. To confirm all this, it is remarkable, he never left the parliament till after the death of his uncle, and the settling the state without king or house of lords; then, in February 1648-9, he took a cold leave of them.

Par. 122. l. 29. he told the duke that the pope had used the *same adage* that his predecessor had done.] This clearly confutes Burnet's idle tittle-tattle of Charles's changing his religion before he left Paris; though we had not Charles's letter to the duke of Gloucester, dated 1654, on this subject, in the Appendix to Thurlow's Papers, vol. i. which he could never have written had he himself been first perverted.

Par. 126. l. 2. the earl of Rochester, *who was always jealous that somebody would be general before him.*] The ridicule of this lord's temper well expressed.

Par. 150. l. 26. which *brought in a vast incredible sum of money into his [Cromwell's] coffers.*] This is absolutely false, as appears by the letters of the several major-generals to Cromwell in the collection of Thurlow's Papers, whereby it appears that the money raised by decimation did at most only support those new raised troops, which the major-generals raised in their several districts to enable them to put their authority in execution.

Par. 151. l. 8, that [it] obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, [*who was to be removed by any way that offered itself.*] This is confirmed by Thurlow's Papers, by which it appears that the royal family did project and encourage Cromwell's assassination. Without doubt they had high provocation. But such a step appears neither to have been prudent nor honourable.

BOOK XV.

Par. 1. l. 5. and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those nations who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's [father's] peaceable and *mild government.*] There is nothing more unaccountable in this History than that the writer could say this after his own account of this *government* in the beginning of the work.

Par. 1. l. 41. whilst their adored idol, presbytery, *which had pulled off the crown from the head of the king.*] This was strictly true.

Par. 2. l. 10. and if they had not at that time rebelled, *and in that manner.*] This plainly hints at the forgery of the king's commission, to which they put the broad seal, that necessitated the king to transfer the management of the war to the parliament.

Par. 7. l. 13. *to give his friendship to that crown that should best deserve it.*] Some modern politicians have affected to think contemptuously of Cromwell's capacity, as if he knew not that true policy required that he should have thrown himself into the lighter balance, which was that of Spain, or as if he did not know which was become the lighter. But this is talking as if Cromwell had been a legal hereditary monarch, whom true policy would have thus directed. But the usurper was first to take care of himself, and under this circumstance true policy required that he should first take care of himself before he busied himself in adjusting the balance of Europe. Now France, by its vicinity, was the most dangerous power to disoblige, as well as by the near relationship of the two royal families of France and England. So that though Cromwell gave out, that which of the two states would give most for his friendship should have it, in order to raise the price, he was certainly determined in himself that France should have it.

Par. 13. l. 5. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, &c.] Posterity has seen the exquisite judgment of Cromwell in this particular.

Par. 30. l. 4. *they might, for ought appeared,* remove him from being both protector and general.] How could this be said, when they made attempting his life high treason, and had granted him tonnage and poundage for life?

Par. 33. l. 1. But the more sober persons of the king's party, &c.] All this is incontestable.

Par. 40. l. 8. They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his *former dream, or apparition*, that had first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally *spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation.*] These slight strokes of the popular superstition rather contribute to the dignity and the sublime of history than debase it, which, by going a little further, (as in Echard's History of the Conference between Cromwell and the Devil,) degenerate into old wives' tales.

Par. 42. l. 19. and their hopes revived, by that *infatuation* of his.] By infatuation, the historian does not here mean the being deprived of the ordinary use of reason, (which is the common sense of the word,) but his being overruled by fate

or destiny. For the historian has shewn the extreme danger Cromwell had been subject to in accepting the crown; and on the whole, one hardly knows whether to applaud or condemn his politics on this occasion.

Par. 51. l. 10. *which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform.*] One hardly knows what is meant by this. But it is certain, from Falconbridge's letters to Harry Cromwell, after the death of Oliver, which we find in Thurlow's collection, that he had the glory and interest of Cromwell's house exceedingly at heart.

Par. 57. l. 40. and was the first man that declined *the old track*, and made it manifest *that the science might be attained in less time* than was imagined, and despised those rules which had been long in practice *to keep his ship and his men out of danger.*] i. e. the being bred up to the sea service from early youth; and despising the *science*, which indeed could not be soon *attained, the keeping of his ship and men out of danger, and the coming home safe again.*

Par. 57. l. 55. and though he hath been very well imitated and followed.] By Monk, Rupert, Mountague, Dean, &c.

Par. 58. l. 9. they find that they have *unvarily left a gap open* to let their destruction in upon them.] This was the 3d article of the *petition* and advice. See below.

Par. 80. l. 9. under the command of *Schomberg, an officer of the first rank.*] The same who was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

Par. 91. l. 4. of which he had received perfect intelligence from a *hand* that was not then in the least degree suspected.] Sir Richard Willis, formerly governor of Newark, and who behaved himself so insolently to the king there.

Par. 110. l. 23. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs, &c.] This is excellently well said, and truly observed.

Par. 110. l. 38. This the then parliament being sensible of, &c.] For all those illegal and eccentric proceedings of the late king, he had given full satisfaction to the parliament and people before the war broke out.

Par. 120. l. 1. The gentleman who brought this address, and these *wild propositions.*] The continuance of the long parliament, the king's forced concessions in the Isle of Wight, and

exempting sectaries from contributing to the maintenance of a national ministry, were certainly *extravagant and wild propositions*.

Par. 145. l. 9. he plainly discovered that his son *Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly.*] This by no means agrees with Falconbridge's letters, in Thurlow's collection, after the death of Cromwell.

Par. 145. l. 22. it is very certain that either what she said or *her death.*] Her death, undoubtedly.

Par. 146. l. 1. about the middle of August he was seized on by a common *tertian ague.*] He died apparently for want of the bark, then little known.

Par. 146. l. 10. *that he should recover.*] Thurlow, in a letter, tells Harry Cromwell, that the protector had told some in confidence, that he should recover, as a matter revealed to him, which was to be kept a secret in the family.

Par. 148. l. 5. *his parts seemed to be renewed, as if he had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them.*] The reason of this was, that, having no vanity to indulge, he cultivated his faculties just as he wanted to use them.

Par. 150. l. 31. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, *demanding his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority.*] This Maynard, learned as he was, was a very strange man; he acquiesced in, or encouraged, all the parliamentary violations of law, but not the *protector's*. And why? For no better reason than this, that the law books spoke of *parliaments*, but not a word of a *protector*.

Par. 150. l. 45. He asked them, who made them judges; &c.] Extreme good sense.

Par. 151. l. 7. And as he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and dared to contend with his greatness, so towards those who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, *he used a wonderful civility, generosity, and bounty.*] Cromwell would have been as clement a conqueror and usurper as Julius Cæsar, had he had as much knowledge in literature, and no more in human nature, than Julius Cæsar.

Par. 156. l. 10. it may be, *out of too much contempt of his ene-*

mies.] This suspicion is unjust. On the other hand, the royal family much encouraged the assassination of Cromwell. See a letter of the duke of York's to Charles II. in the Appendix of Thurlow's first volume of Papers. Why so little was known of it, I suppose, proceeded from chancellor Hyde's abhorrence of it.

BOOK XVI.

Par. 16. l. 11. *he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother.*] This contemptuous pleasantry the two poltron sons of Oliver deserved.

Par. 31. l. 1. One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he never communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to *name any man who was of the king's party, and had been always so reputed: but what was undertaken by any of the presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the king, was poured out to the life.*] From hence it appears, that his treachery arose from his inability to bear poverty, rather than from an abandoned nature and profligacy of principle. He had long enjoyed the fruits of the license of war in a good warm government, and he could not think of starving for conscience sake, though he had courage to fight for it.

Par. 37. l. 7. *the troop marching down a very steep hill.*] Froster-hill, ten miles south of Gloucester.

Par. 47. l. 19. *only to improve the skill and mystery and science of destruction.*] This is well observed. For this war had wonderfully improved the art military, and, towards its conclusion, had produced those two consummate captains, the *great Condé* and *Turenne*.

Par. 57. l. 27. *and who always delighted to go out of the way.*] He never mentions Digby but he paints him with admirable touches.

Par. 60. l. 7. He had a good judgment and understanding, *and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it.*] It is certain, that what enables a man to excel in the *talent of rhetoric*, is his delight in the charms of it. Whoever is so delighted, is easily made the dupe of it; which he can never be, who feels not the charms of it, and consequently excels not in it.

Par. 68. l. 18. *for a king incognito was never heard of in*

Spain.] The Spanish form and fashion well described in these words.

Par. 77. l. 11. *since he led his own chosen people through the Red sea.*] This comparison is of a piece with that he made before, between the murder of Charles and of Jesus Christ.

Par. 78. l. 16. upon his promise that *he should succeed him.*] He wanted only Cromwell's fanaticism to make his promise good against his will.

Par. 80. l. 7. that they would commit the army to *Fleetwood, as general*, and that they would appoint *Lambert to be major general.*] This was a well conceived scheme; for Fleetwood was just as fit a stalking horse for Lambert, as Fairfax had been for Cromwell: two generals in chief of impenetrable stupidity.

Par. 92. l. 12. (*there being great emulation between him and Lambert.*)] As Monk and Lambert were neither of them enthusiastical, Monk shewed his superior understanding in never attempting to rise by the enthusiasts, which was the thing that ruined Lambert.

Par. 94. l. 20. otherwise, without *obligation to any party or opinion.*] i. e. *without religion*, (well expressed,) which was the truth of the case.

Par. 100. l. 4. and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards did arise from those accidents which fell out, &c.] This was certainly the truth of the case.

Par. 112. l. 22. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, &c.] This perfectly coincides with what he said of Monk, par. 101.

Par. 115. l. 16. And it was the king's great happiness that he never *had it in his purpose to serve him till it fell to be in his power, and indeed till he had nothing else in his power to do.*] He certainly had never any purpose to serve the king till it appeared to him that it was in vain to think of serving any body else. By the truest policy he projected nothing, but always made the best use of conjunctures.

Par. 127. l. 1. Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, &c.] Had the general had the well regulated enthusiasm (for he wanted not the courage) of Cromwell, or had this remnant of the rump been less vigilant than they had been before, the farce had ended in a second protectorship. But

they were refractory, and he was downright. And so found less trouble in breaking than in bending them.

Par. 133. l. 42. *There was no dissimulation in this.*] And so, I dare say, thought the noble historian; and so certainly it was in fact. All the general had yet determined on, was to rise by establishing a regular, lasting government, new or old, as occurrences should direct.

Par. 137. l. 24. and such other additions *as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.*] i. e. the fact was much magnified by the relator.

Par. 143. l. 25. *for which he could have no temptation but his violent affection to a commonwealth.*] In this uncertainty of Monk, who appears to have been resolved to follow accidents rather than to lead them, this talk of commonwealth principles was so general as to bind him to nothing, or to impede the execution of whatever he should resolve on.

Par. 146. l. 1. This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general and the council of state *into a great agony.*] Lambert, when at liberty, was sure to traverse Monk's schemes, whether they should be for himself or for the king.

Par. 148. l. 4. colonel Ingoldsby, who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert for his malice to *Oliver and Richard.*] As Oliver availed himself of his own cunning and enthusiasm indifferent, so for the same reason he employed both equally as they were found separately in his creatures. And *Ingoldsby*, who, as Richard said, *could neither preach nor pray*, was as useful to him as *Harrison*, who could do both in perfection.

Par. 163. l. 9. and they might take the business so much into their own hands [as to] *leave no part to him to merit of the king, from whom he had yet deserved nothing.*] This was apparently the reason why, in the conference at Northumberland-house, he insisted on the most severe conditions. He found them all disposed to be reasonable, and was afraid they should get before him. His caution made him wait so long, that the king, he saw, must be restored in spite of him; but then, by his address, he got himself at the head of a measure that was become inevitable.

Par. 168. l. 9. *until he found a fit time to deliver it, or should*

think of another way to serve his majesty.] By this it appears Monk was resolved not to precede, but follow the motions of this new parliament, whether to monarchy or a republic.

Par. 204. l. 8. and though he *was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of king.*] It was offered him too late, when all the men in power, both in the army and the parliament, were grown odious by their tyranny, and insignificant by their breaking into cabals and factions.

Par. 207. l. 38. it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives.] They deserved all they suffered, and much more. No nation in the world had ever given such an example of cruelty in the breaking out of the rebellion, or of perfidy, when they pretended to repent, in the course of it.

Par. 215. l. 26. they were contented to gratify the *presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them.*] The character of a presbyterian composition is to be *tedious* and *fulsome*; the one the mark of a cloudy understanding; the other, of a base heart.

Par. 225. l. 9. *always abhorring the action in his heart.*] This is absolutely false. For when, in the summer preceding Charles's murder, the independents began to open their design by petitions from various parts, Ingoldsby's regiment, in October, was amongst these petitioners to the general, and in their address were these words: They desire *immediate care that justice may be done upon the principal invaders of all their liberties, namely, the KING and his party.* See Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 346. 2d edit.

Par. 225. l. 25. taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, *if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand.*] At this time, it is to be observed, Cromwell was in Scotland. As to Cromwell's putting the pen between his fingers when Ingoldsby signed the warrant, it is an idle story. The original warrant is still extant, and Ingoldsby's name has no such mark of its being wrote in that manner.

Par. 227. l. 16. *But the mutual jealousies between them.*] This enmity broke out in the Dutch war.

Par. 234. l. 6. when *many of them had been zealous ministers and promoters of it.*] These, by their modesty, must have been presbyterians.

Par. 237. l. 16. which expedition *was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.*] He means Monk himself, who revenged himself cruelly upon him for an irregular distribution of prize goods in the Dutch war: which the historian relates at large, and condemns, in the history of his ministry.

Par. 242. l. 11. who, they said, *had always, according to the obligation of their covenant, wished his majesty very well, and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duty.*] Their covenant obliged them to bring the father to his murderers, after he had so largely secured the liberty of the subject; and their covenant obliged them to bring the son to the throne, without giving any security at all. But against the surplice and Common Prayer they were still ready to blow up another flame.

Par. 246. l. 12. but the two houses of parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all the vows of affection and fidelity *to the world's end.*] Words expressing the ridicule of their adulation, and so intended by the writer.

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